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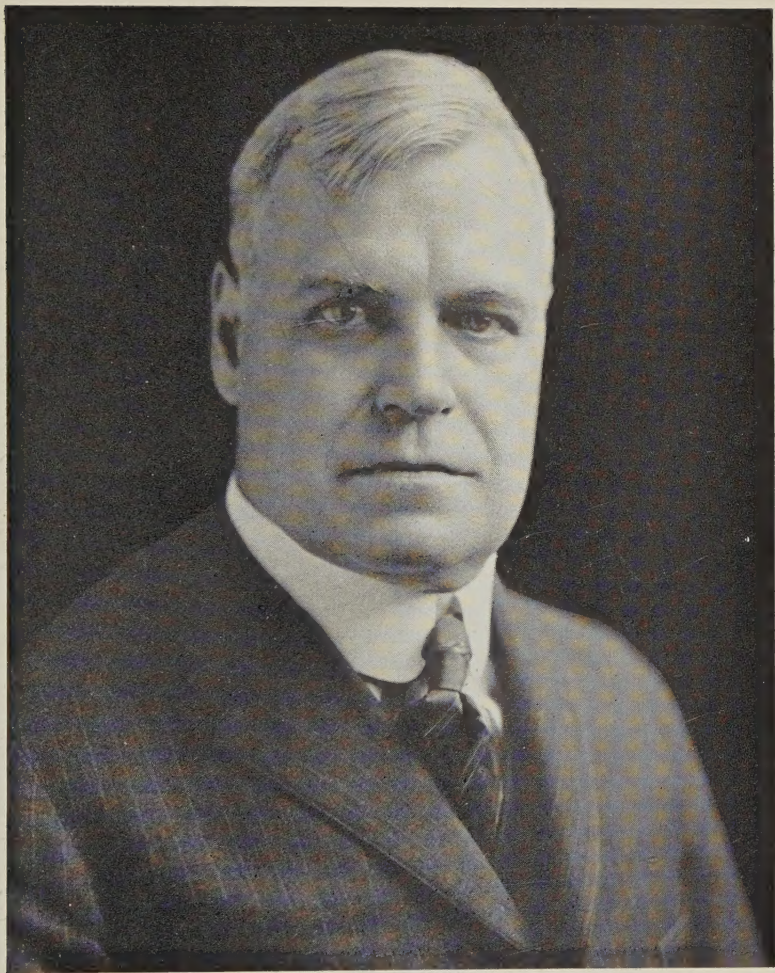
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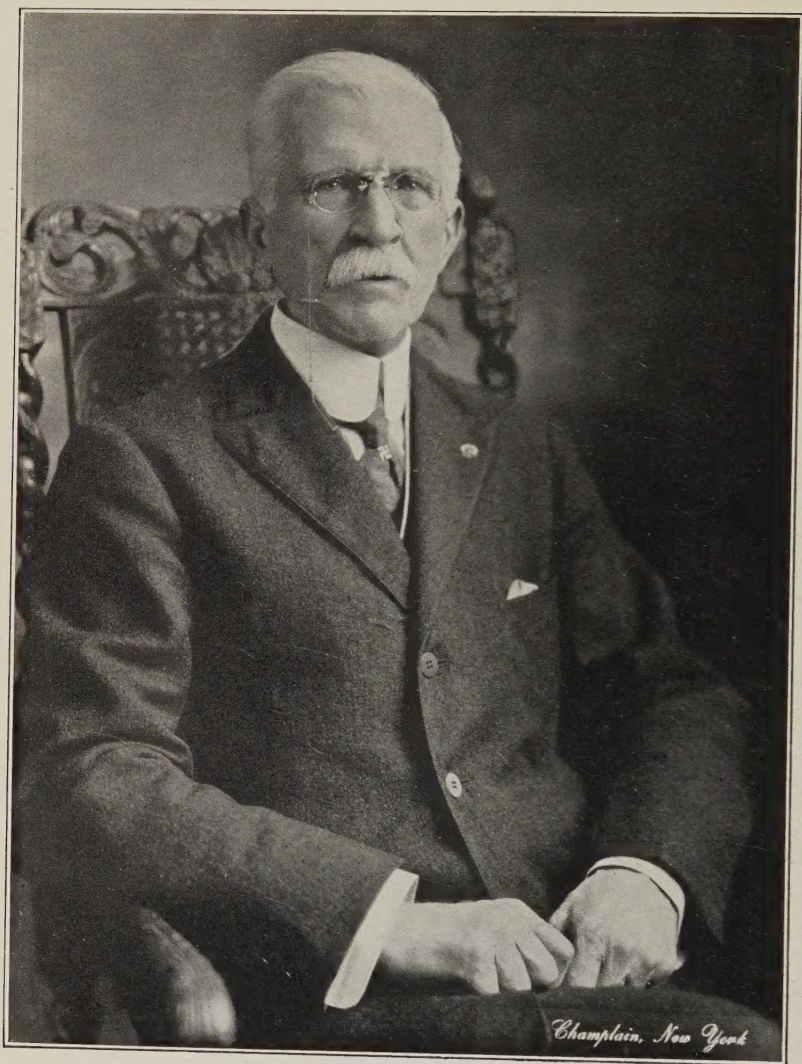
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A HISTORY OF NEW YORK STATE

A WORD FROM THE PRESIDENT

The State of New York, having a great history, deserves a good *History*. It is recognized that many learned monographs have been worked out upon its institutions as a Dutch colony and as a British province; the political drama of few states, if any, has been so effectively presented as that reviewed by Judge Hammond from his own observation and by Colonel Alexander from conscientious and imaginative study. Yet no work sets forth with satisfactory insight and thoroughness the whole development from the time of the first Dutch governor to the time of the present one, a development complicated by every sort of influence and yet in most important ways proceeding upon lines laid down at the beginning. As no adequate history has covered the whole stretch of time, none even in a particular era has covered the whole range of human interests. History is no longer considered to reach its ultimate possibilities in chronicling the policies of government or the contests for control of them.

If some gifted mind were dedicated to the task in youth a monumental work of tolerable quality and scope might at last emerge, but probably not. There is, of course, the excellent history of Minnesota by Dr. Folwell, which has recently appeared, but the annals of Minnesota are short and simple compared with those of New York. We might wait a very long time for a just and inclusive history of this state from one pen. Most major historical enterprises throughout the world since the late eighties have been coöperative; in our own case such a scheme promises most success.

The latest and certainly one of the most generally acceptable of state histories is that of Massachusetts, edited by Albert Bushnell

Hart in five stately volumes; it is the joint production of more than seventy-five authors virtually all of whom would be conceded to be authorities in their respective fields. It is a systematic history and wide in scope. Due and proportionate attention is paid to such human concerns as religion, literature and the other arts, social customs, professional development, education, agriculture, business, manufacturing, shipping, labor, racial stocks, etc. as well as to the more conventional staples of history. It is notorious that state and local histories have too often been made up of a thin and colorless narrative quickly spun from the well-worn matter of other works, apparently intended as a respectable mantle for the numerous biographical notices which follow, notices which are largely of living people, generally highly appreciative and carrying to a suspicious public a disagreeable suggestion of fame by purchase. The States History Company presented no such embarrassment to Professor Hart; there were no appended biographies, no dubious commercial devices such as might have discredited it.

The Trustees of the New York State Historical Association at their recent meeting resolved to organize a similar undertaking for New York. The same company has agreed to publish the work in five volumes, leaving every item of its content to the Association and the editorial board which it might set up. The Trustees have insured a proper and inclusive design as well as high scholarly and literary standards by selecting Dr. Alexander C. Flick as editor-in-chief. He has had, it may be mentioned, some such great co-operative enterprise in mind ever since he assumed the office of state historian. Every provision, every safeguard that the Trustees could conceive have entered the arrangements to make sure a work worthy of the Empire State.

It will immediately be put in process—if we can be assured that the members of the New York State Historical Association will support it. You will receive an order blank by mail on which you can enter your preliminary subscription at a discount of 20% from the list price of \$9.50 per volume, making the total cost \$38.00 payable in installments. If the members respond, the volumes can be financed: there is a great history to be written and there is talent enough in the state to write it, if the costs can be met. The Trustees confidently expect sympathetic support from the other historical, genealogical and patriotic organizations of the state, but

as the initial responsibility has been assumed by this Association they look to our own membership for loyal coöperation in the first instance. No case comes to mind where a state historical association has undertaken such a project as this; by carrying it through we will do an immense service to New York State. The social and political problems of the state can be solved only in the light of its history, that is to say *our* history.

DIXON RYAN FOX

THE MASSACRE AT GROVELAND*

The battle of Newtown put to rout a terror-stricken and demoralized rabble of Tories, rangers and Indians; many of the Indians fled in panic to their villages, and it was with difficulty only that Brant himself was able to retain the support of even a few of them in his further militant enterprises. A general roundup of the remnant of Butler's forces still able and willing to bear arms, and such of the Indians as had regained a measure of their fighting spirit, with some reinforcements, took place at Canawaugus, to arrange for opposing the advance of the American army. This was the northernmost of the Genesee river villages of the Senecas, lying in the present town of Caledonia, Livingston county, near the sulphur springs at Avon; it was distinguished as the birth-place of Cornplanter, a leading chieftain and one of the wisest and best of Seneca notables, and his half-brother, Handsome Lake, who acquired renown as the Peace Prophet; it was here he received his revelation, which was the inspiration of the new religion that he preached to his people, and it was here the wise men of the Senecas took counsel with these and other noted residents.

The Newtown engagement occurred August 29th; on the 31st the army resumed the march and its progress westward, with the attendant destruction on the way of the Seneca villages, crops and orchards, and the use of the cattle and swine of the natives for feeding the troops, was virtually unopposed; skirting the eastern shore of Seneca lake and turning west at its foot the army rested for a day at the Indian town of Kanadesaga, now Geneva. A conference was held here to decide whether the army should continue its operations westward, or bring the expedition to an end at this point; it was determined to proceed in spite of shortened rations and the necessity of relying in part upon the food produced by the country ahead. Forging the outlet of Canandaigua lake, the army came to the present site of Canandaigua, where was located an important village which had been so recently occupied that the fires were still burning. The village of Han-ne-ya-ye on the east side of the outlet of Honeoye lake, near the present

*Address before the New York State Historical Association at Elmira, September 26, 1929.

village of Honeoye, was reached on September 11th, and here were left the men on the sick list and the impedimenta, while the remainder of the army, with four days half rations, started at noon of September 12th southwesterly across the mouth of Hemlock lake, arriving at nightfall within a mile and a half of the small Indian village of Kanaghaws; it was situated near the head of Conesus lake and east of the inlet, in the present town of Conesus, and here the army made camp; signs were not wanting to show that Indian scouts were just ahead.

General Sullivan was much hampered by lack of accurate knowledge of the country through which he was proceeding and the location of the Indian settlements; the maps with which he was supplied were inaccurate and misleading. As he reached camp on the evening of September 12th, he was led to believe that the objective of his military operations, Genesee Castle, or Little Beards Town, was on the east side of the Genesee River, opposite the point of confluence of that stream and Canaseraga Creek, the site of the later established hamlet of Williamsburg, and it was so indicated on his maps. This was the site as late as 1770 of the principal Genesee town called Chenussio, but its location had been changed to the west side of the river, which fact was not known to Sullivan, and his maps did not inform him of the other town two miles up the river, hereafter to be mentioned. On reaching camp on the night of September 12th, he sought more definite and exact knowledge of the country before him, and, in particular, the way to Genesee Castle. "The country before us" said Major Hoops, third aid-de-camp on Sullivan's staff, "was unknown. We had heard of an Indian castle on the Genesee, which, by our reckoning, might be a few miles ahead of us." Lieutenant Thomas Boyd, a member of Morgan's Rifle Corps, of proven bravery and resourcefulness, was summoned to headquarters and ordered by General Sullivan to take five or six men and make a rapid reconnaissance, and report to him as early as sunrise the next morning.

Meanwhile, in the early morning of September 12th, Butler with 400 rangers and Indians marched from Canawaugus, probably along the Genesee River trail through Little Beards Town, to a point in the present town of Groveland, in Livingston county, where the highland overlooks the head of Conesus lake, and here

they concealed themselves in ravines flanking the Indian trail ascending the steep hillside, up which the Sullivan army was later to march to its destination at Genesee Castle. It was Butler's intention to attack and destroy the vanguard of the army as it crested the hill and make a stand on this vantage ground, in the hope that it could at least check, if not prevent, the onward march of the remainder of the invaders. We shall discover how this plan was completely frustrated by a tragic adventure not within the remotest contemplation of the British officers.

When Boyd left Sullivan's tent he at once set out upon his mission, after selecting a group which, including himself, numbered twenty-nine; among them were Timothy Murphy and Han Yerry (or Han Yost). These men and Boyd himself merit a word of description. Boyd was twenty-two years old; he had seen active service for more than three years, and in January 1778 was made Captain-Lieutenant of the First Pennsylvania Regiment. He is described as of fine physique, engaging manners, brave to the point of recklessness and possessing qualities which would command attention; Tim Murphy was a renowned scout and border fighter, whose skill with the rifle, courage and swiftness of foot were matters of tradition in the Schoharie valley; Han Yerry, an Oneida Indian, was a faithful and loyal guide to the army and acted as guide on this occasion. At eleven o'clock they set out, and, crossing the inlet of the lake, turned up the steep Groveland hill following the well worn trail leading westward; they pressed on for a distance of seven miles and, before daybreak, arrived at a town on the east side of the Canaseraga Creek, two miles south of the supposed site of Genesee Castle, bearing the Indian name of Gathsegwarohare. Sullivan's personal report says, at this point, "the guides were by no means acquainted with the country, mistook the road in the night and at daybreak fell in with a castle six miles higher up than Chinesees, inhabited by a tribe called Squatchegas."

The intimation of General Sullivan in this account, that Boyd took the wrong road contains a measure of injustice to the latter, who may well be absolved from the suggestion of having blundered, by the fact that for ten years or more the town of Chenussio on the east side of the river, already mentioned, was no longer the Western Door and had virtually ceased to exist; the path leading

to this abandoned town and branching to the northwest from the open trail must have been so obscured from disuse as to have escaped the notice of Boyd as he passed it on his hurried reconnoissance in the dead of night. It is worth while to note in this connection also that the army took precisely the same route on the following day to Genesee Castle. It may be said in passing that the Indian town which the Boyd party reached on the early morning of September 13th was the site later of "Hermitage," the home of Charles Carroll, of Bellevue, who migrated from Maryland to New York state in 1800, with Nathaniel Rochester, the founder of the city of Rochester, and William Fitzhugh. Boyd reached the Indian village without mischance; as he stole swiftly along the trail he did not know that concealed in the ravines and thickets on either side were the rangers and Indians in ambush; nor did Butler or Brant discover the silently passing scouts. The approach of the Sullivan army was the signal for the hurried departure of the families occupying the villages along the line of march, so that he found their houses always deserted and empty.

Mary Jemison, the White Woman then living at Beards Town, has left us a description of the consternation which the approach of Sullivan caused to the dwellers in the Indian towns. She says: "Intelligence was received that a large and powerful army of the rebels under the command of General Sullivan was making rapid progress toward the Indian settlement of Beards Town, burning and destroying the huts and cornfields; killing the cattle, hogs and horses, and cutting down the fruit trees belonging to the Indians; the Indians immediately became alarmed, and suffered everything but death from fear that they should be taken by surprise and totally destroyed at a single blow. But in order to prevent so great a catastrophe, they sent out a few spies who were to keep themselves a short distance in front of the invading army in order to watch its operations and give information of its advances and success. Sullivan arrived at Canandaigua lake and had finished his work of destruction there, and it was ascertained that he was about to march to our flats, when our Indians resolved to give him battle on the way, and prevent, if possible, the distress to which they knew we should be subjected if he should succeed in reaching our town. Accordingly they sent all their women and children

into the woods a little west of Little Beards Town, in order that we might make a good retreat, if it should be necessary, and then, well armed, set out to face the conquering enemy."

Boyd found the village abandoned and sent four men back to camp to report this fact, and remained in concealment nearby; at daybreak four mounted Indians entered the village; one of them was killed, another wounded and the latter and the two others, escaped. The party then started on the return to camp along the same path by which they had come, proceeding leisurely, upon the supposition that the army must be moving in their direction and would soon overtake them. Boyd ordered two men to go ahead and report to Sullivan his whereabouts; these messengers had not gone far on their way when they returned with word that there were Indians on the trail. Boyd at once started in pursuit firing at the Indians, who, however, held to the trail inviting and returning the rifle fire but keeping just out of range, as they steadily retired in the direction of the camp. This course, we are made to believe, was earnestly opposed by Han Yerry, who knew all the artifices of Indian warfare and the danger of an ambush, but he protested to no purpose and the chase continued. At last the sound of the firing reached Butler, who, locating it west of his hiding place, and suspecting he was discovered and being surrounded, appeared in force and completely encircled Boyd's men before they suspected his presence.

There survives a fragment of the story of the encounter; of how the little group of twenty-five, without warning and wholly unready, beheld four hundred savages and others no less savage spring suddenly out of the earth; they knew that it would be a battle without quarter, and that he whom the rifle or tomahawk spared would be the one most to be pitied. Resolving on the instant that nothing offered the slenderest chance of getting past the deadly cordon but a desperate thrust *en masse* and a headlong race in scattered order down the hill into the surrounding woods toward the camp, almost within hearing distance, in the all but forlorn hope that the outposts of the army might be near at hand, Boyd gave his men the order to charge, firing as they advanced. Many of the enemy fell, but their lines held; from the vantage point of a small collection of trees, furnishing a momentary shelter, Boyd's men continued to carry on a destructive fire



(Photo by F. E. Brimmer)

GROVELAND MONUMENT
Erected 1899 at site of ambush of Lieutenant Boyd and
Sergeant Parker



(Photo by F. E. Brimmer)
BOULDER MONUMENT ON WHICH SULLIVAN-CLINTON
TABLET WAS PLACED AT CUYLERVILLE, N. Y.

while the Indians and Tories kept closing in, until at last fifteen of his party were slain and eight men, including Tim Murphy, had made their way through and escaped. Boyd had been shot through the body, and was thus disabled and his chance of escape completely spoiled. He and his sergeant Michael Parker were captured and hurried with the retreating foe to Genesee Castle where they were slain after being subjected to awful torture. Tradition has it that Boyd appealed to Brant as a Mason to spare him the horrors of the torture and obtained his promise to do so, but that, in his absence, Walter Butler, son of Colonel Butler, and a renegade whose villainies on the border exceeded those of the savages, enraged at Boyd because he would not reveal the purposes of General Sullivan, turned him and Parker over to the Indians, for punishment. I believe there is no fact recorded in authentic history to verify this story and it is not generally accepted.

The encounter with Boyd's men on Groveland hill, as related, completely upset Butler's plan to resist the Sullivan advance, as he could see that preparations were making by the approaching army to attack him; he thereupon withdrew over the same trail to Gathsegwarohare that the unfortunate Boyd had ventured upon earlier in the day. At this village he arranged his forces in order of battle awaiting Sullivan's approach, but fled without the exchange of a shot as the latter came upon the field and proceeded to cut off his retreat; Sullivan camped here for the night and at midday on the 14th the army took up its line of march to Genesee Castle, which was the Western Door of the Long House of the Iroquois and the destination of the expedition. I believe I can in no better way give you an account of the last day's activities of the army before it set its face again to the east than in the words of one of the officers of the expedition, Lieut. Colonel Hubley, commanding the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment:

We took up our line of march and proceeded for Jenise, the last and capital settlement of the Seneca country; the whole crossed a branch of the Jenise river, and moved through a considerable swamp, and formed on a plain the other side, the most extensive I ever saw, containing not less than six thousand acres of the richest soil that can be conceived, not having a bush standing, but filled with grass considerably higher than a man. We moved up this plain for about three miles in our regular line of march, which was a beautiful site, as a view of the whole could be had at one look, and then came to Jenise river, which we crossed, being about

forty yards over, and near middle deep, and then ascended a rising ground, which afforded a prospect which was so beautiful that, to attempt a comparison would be doing an injury, as we had a view as far as our eyes could carry us of another plain, besides the one we crossed, through which the Jenise river formed a most beautiful winding, and, at intervals, cataracts, which rolled from the rocks, and emptied into the river.

We then marched on through a rough but rich country, until we arrived at the capital town, which is much the largest we have yet met with in our whole route, and encamped about the same.

At this place we found the body of the brave but unfortunate Lieutenant Boyd, and one rifleman, massacred in the most cruel and barbarous manner that the human mind can possibly conceive.

This evening the remains of Lieutenant Boyd and the rifleman's corpse were interred with military honours. Mr. Boyd's former good character, as a brave soldier, and an honest man, and his behavior in the skirmish of yesterday (several of the Indians being found dead, and some seen carried off,) must endear him to all friends of mankind. May his fate await those who have been the cause of his. Oh! Britain, behold and blush. Jenise town, the capital of the Seneca nation, is pleasantly situated on a rich and extensive flat, the soil remarkably rich, and great parts well improved with fields of corn, beans, potatoes, and all kinds of vegetables. It contained one hundred and seven well-finished houses.

Wednesday, September 15th. This morning the whole army, excepting a covering party, were engaged in destroying the corn, beans, potatoes, and other vegetables, which were in quantity immense, and in goodness unequaled by any I ever yet saw. Agreeable to a moderate calculation, there was not less than two hundred acres, the whole of which was pulled and piled up in large heaps, mixed with dry wood, taken from the houses, and consumed to ashes. About 3 o'clock, P. M., the business was finished, and the immediate objects of this expedition completed, viz., the total ruin of the Indian settlements, and the destruction of their crops. The following is a part of the orders issued this day, viz:

"The commander-in-chief informs this brave and resolute army that the immediate objects of this expedition are accomplished, viz: total ruin of the Indian settlements, and the destruction of their crops, which were designed for the support of those inhuman barbarians, while they were desolating the American frontiers. He is by no means insensible of the obligations he is under to those brave officers and soldiers whose virtue and fortitude have enabled him to complete the important design of the expedition, and he assures them he will not fail to inform America at large how much they stand indebted to them. The army will this day commence its march for Tioga."

The battle of Newtown, and the resistless march of the patriot army thereafter, put an end to any further effective cooperation of the Iroquois with the British forces, and, not only uprooted the confidence of the Indians in the power and influence of their allies, but brought them startlingly to comprehend that this collaboration meant destruction of their homes, crops and orchards, their horses and cattle and privation and banishment.

If the gallant and martyred Boyd made up a larger scouting party than General Sullivan thought of sending upon his reconnoissance, or if he did indeed mistake the road in the night and proceed along the open trail to Gathsegwarohare instead of the obscure path to the abandoned Chenussio, or if, disregarding the warnings of Han Yerry, his pursuit of the Indians upon the trail as he retraced his way toward camp led his party into ambush, we cannot doubt that he brought his very best intelligence and experience and limitless courage to bear in his desperate enterprise. We may debate the question, without reaching a conclusion that is convincing whether the judgment he displayed in this occasion was of as good a quality as his daring and if he possessed the sagacity and coolness that fitted him as a leader in the task assigned to him, but we do know that all these things which Boyd did contributed to a result of much importance; it utterly ruined Butler's plan of attack upon the invading army with fatalities, we may conjecture, which would greatly exceed the losses sustained by Boyd's little band, and we may find in this circumstance the gratifying—if somewhat gruesome—reflection that the martyrdom of these men was not in vain.

And, now, in the fullness of time, cannot we pass a gentler judgment upon these children of the forest who yielded to the influence of designing and vicious men, more savage than they, and thus became a scourge to the frontiers, only to see their towns destroyed and their families driven from their homeland forever?

Fifty years ago (in these Sullivan days we speak only in terms of centuries and half centuries) a celebration was held at Geneseo, to mark the centennial anniversary of the Sullivan expedition; among the speakers was General Alexander Diven, of Elmira, a man of great eminence and distinction, and universally beloved for his kindness of heart and unerring sense of right and justice. It was my privilege to hear him, and a part of what he said made a deep and lasting impression upon me. I quote his words literally:

There is danger in celebrating a victory over these people that we remember them only as cruel savages with no redeeming quality, with nothing to palliate their offenses. In their incursions on our frontier settlements they were told by their British allies that they were defending their homes against the intruder. Justice to an enemy is what just men should always accord.

We are in the midst of a widespread observance of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Sullivan invasion; the universal interest which this subject has aroused is a splendid tribute to good citizenship and of enormous educational value. This century and a half has brought a calmness of judgment, which will permit us now to interpret the events of those Revolutionary days in a just, charitable and sympathetic spirit. General Diven's words that I have quoted should be made the text of a thesis whose profoundly serious purpose would be to fairly present the case of those Iroquois tribesmen who, surrendering to overpowering pressure, became the allies of the British King. The present generation and the generations to come will not longer consent to have this case submitted in such a manner that it is prejudged from the start, by the traditional picture of the Indian wearing his war bonnet, tomahawk poised and scalping knife in belt ready for action, an instinctively vindictive and murderous individual. Let the reader and student have a chance first to learn his real character and temperament, under normal and peaceful conditions; his spiritual, mental and emotional impulses and limitations, his susceptibility to influence and deception; his loyalty to those whom he trusted; the influence of Sir William Johnson; upon his death, the continued influence of his son and nephew, John Johnson and Guy Johnson; the commanding power of Joseph Brant, the Mohawk war chief, and the machinations of John Butler and his infamous son Walter; the sense of injury inflicted by the pioneer instilled insidiously by these people; and many other considerations, which must be taken into account to reach a just verdict. If out of our impartial study of the subject there shall emerge a new Iroquois with a fairer repute, well deserved, much will have been accomplished in the interest of justice and the integrity of history.

LOCKWOOD R. DOTY

PIONEER WOMEN OF WESTERN NEW YORK*

For the history of pioneer women in western New York before 1800 very few written records are available. As woman was not deemed important enough to occupy the page equally with man, no biographical sketches are to be found. Such historical facts as one has to depend upon must be gleaned from the biographies of men, in which only casual mention is made of how woman helped man. In the sketches of these early pioneers we read of Mr. X. or Mr. Y., who brought his wife and a number of children with him, but aside from the fact that the woman was the man's wife and the mother of his children, no further reference was made to her. Woman was taken for granted.

Here and there one reads of a woman whose unusual occupation or attainment earned her some prominence. One startling account reveals the fact that in the year 1792 one Peggy Ludlow was sent to superintend the building of a gristmill and a sawmill upon the patent of Robert Harpur, then Deputy Secretary of State under Governor Clinton. We are told that, although a woman, she proved to be an efficient agent in conducting that part of Secretary Harpur's business.¹ The obituary of another woman stated that she had read Scott's *Commentary* seven times.² But such learned and professional women were evidently very rare.

Woman was usually the housewife and as such her position was accepted. The model pioneer wife "was a quiet, amiable, affectionate, and thoroughly domestic woman—a most admirable example of the complete good, oldfashioned housewife and helpmeet. In all her relations of wife, mother and member of society, she fully discharged her duty and bequeathed to her many friends who lived after her a most pleasant memory of her gentle and excellent life."³

But to really know the pioneer woman, historical imagination must reconstruct the picture of what she met in her new home, the hardships she faced, the emotional experiences she had, and the interests which her life held. Only by studying the environment

*Address before the New York State Historical Association at Elmira, September 27, 1929.

¹*Annals of Binghamton*, 122.

²Perkins, 169.

³*Directory and Business Advertiser*, 90.

in which she lived can one begin to understand the true pioneer woman.

When the Revolutionary War was over, the western part of the present State of New York was a wilderness. The preemption line just west of Seneca Lake and extending from the Pennsylvania line to Lake Ontario was the frontier and remained so until about 1800.¹ Traders with the Indians had penetrated far beyond this frontier but, in the region now comprised in the counties of Chemung, Tioga and Broome, woman made her appearance with the first attempts at permanent settlement.

Coming from the comforts of well established life in New England, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, no matter what the reason was for emigration, woman could not have been insensible to the romance of her journey. The trip to the new home was a difficult and a dangerous one, and the wife, unarmed herself, and caring for many little ones, had to have implicit faith in her husband.

The early settlers had to pole or push their way up the river in flat boats, sometimes dragging them with ropes when the banks would permit.² The men walked, driving their cattle, sheep and horses as best they could through the tangled woods, and the women and children rode in the boats with the family possessions;³ or if all were fair and clear, they walked and ran along the banks with the men. At night the boat was tied to the shore, cloth tents were spread, and the meals prepared.⁴

Often a family came up the river in canoes.⁵ Hewn from a single tree trunk a canoe could carry several tons. When heavy laden it would be managed by a person at each end, who placed the iron pointed "setting poles" upon the bottom of the river, throwing the whole weight against them. Usually hired men managed the canoe but often women used the pole and also the paddle, and even took a canoe across the river when in flood.⁶

If the journey was made in the winter, sleds were used on the rivers. Sometimes the whole journey was made on land. In one

¹Mulford, 14. Also *History of Tioga*, 21-23.

²Towner, 49.

³*History of Tioga*, 512.

⁴Towner, 49.

⁵*Annals of Binghamton*, 36.

⁶Murray, 521.

case we read of a man carrying all of his effects, as pots, kettles and bed on his back, his wife and five children and his oxen walking with him.¹ Other men had their wives and children and household effects in wagons drawn by oxen.² Indian paths were followed where possible. The fallen logs, the underbrush, and as many of the saplings were cut out of the way as would permit a wagon to pass, the road curving when large trees interposed.³ Quite often the father went ahead three or four miles, cutting a road and then returning for the family.⁴ The wife and children remained alone in the woods faced by the danger of wild animals and Indians.

At night the family would sleep in the covered wagons.⁵ Then in the morning before starting the mother would milk the cows they were driving with them, would put the milk into the churn, and in the evening would find the butter all nicely gathered by the jolting of the wagon over the rough ground.⁶

The cattle lived on the green boughs of the trees⁷ but the family quite often relied upon the food cooked for the entire journey by the mother before starting, or supplemented it with venison and bear steak supplied by the father en route.⁸ Occasionally, the mother made tea in a kettle, by building a fire where they encamped, fire being obtained by striking against a flint; or she got permission to "boil the kettle" over the old-fashioned fireplace of a settler who chanced to live in the vicinity.⁹

Of course, the halt of emigrants was a great event in the lives of the other settlers. One family, having come down to look at some emigrants who were camping on their land, discovered that the newcomers possessed a good supply of tea. The matter was speedily arranged and so with the family chest as a table there was set out the first tea party ever given in Chemung Valley.¹⁰

¹*History of Tioga*, 514.

²*Ibid.*, p. 476. Also Doty, 2:869.

³*Annals of Binghamton*, 50.

⁴*History of Tioga*, 495.

⁵*Ibid.*, 479.

⁶*Ibid.*, 512.

⁷*Ibid.*, 476, 512.

⁸*Ibid.*, 479, 512.

⁹*Ibid.*, 479.

¹⁰Towner, 50.

But tea parties were not the only occasion for the exercise of ingenuity on the part of the travelers. One Saturday afternoon in the summer of 1788, while Colonel Hendy was working on his log house at Hendytown, a man and a woman emerged from the Indian pathway and crossed the Newtown Creek to his land. The man rode before with a basket hanging on each side of his horse, and a small child in each basket; while the woman brought up the rear, having on her horse the goods of the family. The man, leaving the woman at a stand, rode up to the Colonel and inquired earnestly if there were a doctor to be found in the vicinity. His wife had received a hurt by the stumbling of her horse, and wanted a doctor as soon as possible. But the Colonel replied that unfortunately there was no doctor in the wilderness. The couple rode on a few rods and stopped and the Colonel went on with his work. On Sunday morning the Colonel met the man in the woods near the spot at which they had met and parted on the day before, and on asking him about the health of his wife, received the answer that she was "doing as well as could be expected." Again they parted, and again the Colonel forgot the travelers until Monday morning, when he sent his son to look after them. The boy returned with the information that they were getting ready to start, that there was another baby and that the woman could use a third basket. Having eased his conscience by self-reproach, the Colonel started to the spot where the family had stopped and found that the woman had given birth to a fine boy. She had carefully wrapped him in a corner of a blanket in lieu of a third basket, and was ready to mount her steed.¹

After the perils of a long, slow and tedious journey were over and the destination was reached, the father would cut an opening in the forest, build a small hut or shanty, cover it with pine and hemlock boughs,² and have it serve until a more substantial log hut could be built.

If several families traveled together they would throw chips for choice of lands, and then all hands would commence work on the first log house, which would be completed in a few days. The family would move in on the green hewn floors immediately. On Christ-

¹*Directory and Business Advertiser*, 11-12.

²*History of Tioga*, 476.

mas day one family moved into such quarters.¹ Fish and game were abundant and they passed the winter comfortably.

One wife did not fare so well. In 1790 a man, whose name is unknown, came with his wife and child and built a hut near the present village of Burdett. Being discouraged or for some other reason he left his wife in the wilderness during the winter and did not return before the next summer.²

The dwellings which were built were at best none too comfortable. We are afforded a good picture of one of these early settlements in Guy H. McMaster's *History of the Settlement of Steuben County*. He gives the story of a traveler who passed through the Chemung Valley at an early date.

As I was travelling through the county on horseback on a summer day in an early year of settlement, I fell in company with two gentlemen, who were going in the same direction. One of them was the land Agent from Bath, who was going to the Genesee river, the other was a foreigner on his way from Easton, in Pennsylvania, to Presque Isle, (now Erie) on Lake Erie. We had followed in Indian file a mere path through the woods for several miles, passing at long intervals a log house where the occupants had just made a beginning; when having passed the outskirts of settlement and penetrated deep into the woods, our attention was attracted by the tinkling of a cow bell, and the sound of an axe in chopping. We soon saw a little break in the forest, and a log house. As we approached we heard the loud barking of a dog, and as we got near the clearing were met by him with an angry growl as if he would have said, "You can come no further without my master's permission." A shrill whistle from within called off the dog. We proceeded to the house. A short distance from it, standing on the fallen trunk of a large hemlock tree, which he had just chopped once in two, was a fine looking young man four or five and twenty years of age, with an axe in his hand. He was dressed in a tow-frock and trowsers, with his head and feet bare. The frock, open at the top, showed that he wore no shirt, and exhibited the muscular shoulders and full chest of a very athletic and powerful man. When we stopped our horses he stepped off the log, shook hands with the agent, and saluting us frankly, asked us to dismount and rest ourselves, urging that the distance to the next house was six miles, with nothing but marked trees to guide us a part of the way; that it was nearly noon, and although he could not promise us anything very good to eat, yet he could give us something to

¹*Ibid.*, 512.

²*Ibid.*, 616.

prevent us from suffering with hunger. He had no grass growing yet, but he would give the horses some green oats. We concluded to accept the invitation and dismounted and went into the house. . . .

When we entered the house the young settler said, "Wife, here is the land-agent and two other men," and turning to us said, "This is my wife." She was a pretty looking young woman dressed in a coarse loose dress, and bare footed. When her husband introduced us, she was a good deal embarrassed, and the flash of her dark eyes and the crimson glow that passed over her countenance, showed that she was vexed at our intrusion. The young settler observed her vexation and said, "Never mind Sally, the Squire (so he called the agent) knows how people have to live in the woods." She regained her composure in a moment and greeted us hospitably, and without any apologies for her house or her costume. After a few minutes conversation, on the settler's suggesting that he had promised "these men something to eat to prevent their getting hungry," she began to prepare the frugal meal. When we first entered the house she sat near the door, spinning flax on a little wheel, and a baby was lying near her in a cradle formed of the bark of a birch tree, which resting like a trough on rockers, made a very smooth, neat little cradle. While the settler and his other guests were engaged in conversation, I took notice of the house of round logs *chinked* with pieces of split logs, and plastered on the outside with clay. The floors were made of split logs with the flat side up; the door, of thin pieces split out of a large log, and the roof of the same. The windows were holes unprotected by glass or sash; the fire place was made of stone, and the chimney, of sticks and clay. On one side of the fire place was a ladder leading to the chamber. There was a bed in one corner of the room, a table and five or six chairs, and on one side a few shelves of split boards, on which were a few articles of crockery and some tin-ware, and on one of them a few books. Behind the door was a large spinning wheel and a reel, and over head on wooden hooks fastened to the beams were a number of things, among which were a nice rifle, powder horn, bullet pouch, tomahawk and hunting knife—the complete equipment of the hunter and the frontier settler. Every thing looked nice and tidy, even to the rough stones which had been laid down for a hearth.

In a short time our dinner was ready. It consisted of corn bread and milk, eaten out of tin basins with iron spoons. The settler ate with us, but his wife was employed while we were at dinner in sewing on what appeared to be a child's dress. The settler and the agent talked all the time, generally on the subject of the settlement of the country. After dinner the latter and his companion took their departure, the one making the little boy a present of a half dollar, and the other giving the same sum to the baby.¹

¹McMaster, Guy H., 292.

Not all of the houses were as well built as the description in this story indicates. One man brought his bride to a cottage that had the ground for a floor. A house was of the best if it had a fireplace and a chimney.¹ The chimneys were built of chestnut sticks laid up cob fashion and covered with a coat of clay. Sometimes they had a backing of stone and a hearth laid with flat stones that formed a large part of the floor.²

Some of the women had to permit the cabins to serve as barns as well as dwelling houses. The few bags of grain would be set in one corner or swung across the beams of the room.³

Cooking in these huts was not an easy art. Matches, of course, were unknown and flint or punk had to be used. Quite often it was necessary to borrow fire from a neighbor, many miles away, by using a special utensil for that purpose. The kettle was hung from the trammel pole, a large hardwood stick made fast across the chimney, for the crane was not yet in use. With a long handled shovel the mother would draw coals on the hearth for her spider, bake kettle, boiler or bake oven of tin, and would cook a meal for a family of ten or twelve.⁴

Of course, the whole family slept in the one room of the cabin. They would roll in blankets on the floor or use the bed which was made by two boards nailed against the corner walls to make a rectangle. Sometimes there was a ladder to a loft above.

But once such a house was built the dangers of settlement were not over. Far away from any other settlers each family had to be self-sufficient. Courage was demanded by such a life. Perhaps it was a case of just having moved into the cabin when all of the children were taken sick with the measles, which they had contracted at a tavern in Pennsylvania, or a case of two of the children dying and being buried on the hill-side.⁵ Or it might have been the need of facing the wild animals of the neighborhood. Martins, panthers, bears, wolves, wildcats and deer were common.⁶ The first night after the Hendy family arrived at Hendytown the wolves

¹*History of Tioga*, 477.

²Murray, 538.

³*Annals of Binghamton*, 48.

⁴Murray, 538.

⁵*History of Tioga*, 479.

⁶Perkins, 61.

howled a welcome.¹ As the whole family were greatly fatigued and had confined their diet to cold lunches on their journey up the river, fresh meat had been cooked for supper and the odor had attracted the wolves. Mrs. Hendy was directed to take the children and retire to couches of hemlock boughs while the Colonel and his hired man successfully defended the family.

Another pioneer had killed a deer one afternoon at a deerlick and having dressed it had hung the body upon a tree, bringing only the skin home with him. This he threw upon a work-bench in a part of the house used as a shop. In the night he was awakened by a noise which he supposed to proceed from a dog at his deerskin. He sprang up and opening the door beheld the glare of two eyeballs which he knew to be those of a panther. Without taking his eye from those of the animal, he called to his wife to light a pine stick and hand it and his rifle to him. The panther was killed but it is a question whether the woman was not the more courageous in assisting in the operation and anticipating its failure.²

Such emergencies could be met when the men were at home with their fire-arms. But often women were alone in their huts for long periods of time. Conveying grain to the mill was the chief business that took the men from home. Before there were many mills in the vicinity, the men would pound their grain in mortars hollowed from the tops of stumps, with pestles attached to spring poles.³ But later there were mills some forty or seventy miles distant and the father or eldest son would set out on a trip to be gone many days and nights.⁴

It was, perhaps, then that the sense of solitude would press down upon the women of the household. Beautiful dawns and sunsets and the wonder of the freshly fallen snow would not be enough to lift the dreariness that surrounded them. The pinching wants, the homely and exceedingly limited conveniences within doors, the imperfect manner in which they were defended from the cold and rain, the long and dreary nights of winter when guests and books were few or none, made women feel the loneliness of home.⁵

¹*Directory and Business Advertiser*, 12.

²*Annals of Binghamton*, 631.

³Corbett, 71.

⁴Perkins, 58. Also *Annals of Binghamton*, 50.

⁵*Annals of Binghamton*, 48.

We can understand why these women were content to have large families. There were usually from five to fourteen children. One woman, whose brother seemed surprised when she brought her thirteenth baby with her on a visit, cheerfully replied that she had just started on her second dozen.¹ No physician was in the region until 1793, and it was not until 1805 that a physician who knew anything about obstetrics moved to Newtown.²

One doctor who had come from Orange county in 1793 seems to have had a great deal of solicitude for his own comfort. One December night he was roused from his slumbers by a woman who had come several miles through the deep snow on horseback, leading another horse for the doctor to ride. After much persuasion, at length he dressed himself as warmly as possible and mounted the second horse. He hardly left his own doors when he began to complain of the cold and before long his murmurs lest his feet should freeze became so constant and incessant that the warm-hearted, but not warm-footed, woman took the oversocks from her own feet and drew them on over the doctor's boots.³

But there were other problems which had to be worked out by the pioneer women when they were alone. Relations with the Indians, although in the main pacific, were always the subject of much concern. Some Indians could talk intelligible English and would mingle more or less with their white brethren. One Indian in time of famine even lent money for the whites to buy flour. The children of the settlers often played with the Indian papooses and the squaws would often solicit the company of the women on their quests for whortleberries and fruit.⁴ The home of Colonel Hendy was a general stopping place for the Indians, and night after night their sleeping forms covered the floor of his hut. One evening an Indian squaw, with her papoose, came in and helped to hull corn.⁵

But sometimes when the men were away pioneer women spent some anxious moments. One day when a woman was in her log cabin alone with her four children she heard a noise at the door.

¹*History of Tioga*, 617.

²*Directory and Business Advertiser*, 32-33.

³*Ibid.*, 33.

⁴*Annals of Binghamton*, 53, 127.

⁵*Directory and Business Advertiser*, 13.

Soon it began to open slowly and she saw a bayonet coming in followed by an Indian, who went to the fireplace and sat down on the floor. Not a word was spoken and soon there came in three more. Little was said for some time and that in the Indian language. Each Indian was armed with a gun, a bayonet and a tomahawk slung on his back. One of the little boys, attracted by the wampum on their garments, jumped down from where he was sitting and went to them. Soon one of the men asked who lived there and told the woman about the massacre at Wyoming. Fearful she brought out all the food she had and they carried away what they did not eat.¹

Another woman in a similar circumstance was more courageous, however, for she threw scalding water on some Indians who demanded the bread she was baking from their first harvest.²

Sometimes the Indians offered insults. When one man returned from work in the afternoon he found an Indian, whom he knew well, standing before his wife who was combing her hair. As the hair was hanging down before her eyes, she did not observe the Indian standing with his knife in his hand and pointing it towards her breast.³

Indians went from Painted Post to Tioga to get fire water, one or two of the group always remaining sober to watch the rest. Colonel Hendy said he could hear their approach a long way down the valley. There were long-drawn whoops and generally a sober Indian ran on before to warn the settlers concerning the disposition of guns and knives about the cabin.

One evening a sober Indian bounded into the Hendy cabin and gave the usual warning. Immediately the knives and forks found a place of concealment in the cradle upon which Mrs. Hendy was advised to sit. A drunken Indian and a squaw came in and began to make insulting remarks to a young girl who happened to be present. The girl sprang away from the Indian and ran out of doors, the Indian pursuing. Getting into the house again she darted up the chamber ladder and drew it after her. In the meantime the children had run through the woods and found their father who soon returned and dealt with the situation.⁴

¹*History of Tioga*, 513.

²Testimony of an old settler.

³*Annals of Binghamton*.

⁴*Directory and Business Advertiser*, 13.

If alone, Mrs. Hendy would usually take the children and rush to some concealed covert in the forest when she heard the approach of drunken Indians. Often the Indians delighted to work on her fears. One would hold up his fingers in characteristic and significant pantomime, which threatened that he would soon return with a great war party, kill the Colonel and children and lead her into captivity.¹

Another woman, whose husband kept a public house, was especially exposed to dangers from the Indians. One day when alone with an infant on the floor, nine Indians came in suddenly. One of them, whom she discovered to be much intoxicated, asked her for a gill of rum. Upon being refused he immediately sprang towards her with his knife drawn. She, at the same instant, without being conscious of what she did, threw her arms around another Indian who stood nearest her and who happened to be young Antonio, son of the old chief. He immediately took her part and fell upon the other Indian, thrashing and kicking him severely.²

This same woman was alone one morning when an Indian whom she had never seen before came in and asked for a drink of rum. She let him have one gill. The Indian went away but soon returned for more. The performance was repeated several times when she finally refused. He instantly drew his knife and threatened her life. She was within the bar, the door of which was very narrow and the Indian was standing immediately in it. Just in the height of danger a neighbor passed and came to her assistance.³

But there were other dangers besides those with Indians, which threatened women. Although the Chemung Valley was a garden of plenty, a famine actually occurred in 1789. For six weeks or more the inhabitants were entirely without bread.⁴ The people dug up Indian beans in large quantities,⁵ and for a while they subsisted on green pumpkins which were then half grown.⁶ The pumpkins were boiled and eaten with milk, of which there was fortunately a plentiful supply. Nettles and greens were gathered

¹*Ibid.*, 15.

²*Annals of Binghamton*, 127.

³*Ibid.*, 129.

⁴*Ibid.*, 92.

⁵Towner, 51.

⁶*Directory and Business Advertiser*, 14.

from the forest and even the kernels of green buckwheat, which was a few inches above the ground, were eaten. One Sunday a field of rye which had been anxiously watched was pronounced fit to cut. The neighbors were all summoned and each allowed to cut a portion. This was taken to a barn and threshed and then the grain was dried in pans, and pounded in the samp block, and finally the women made the rye samp into cake and mush—a sorry, sticky mess.¹

Floods also came at frequent intervals. In 1784 there was an ice freshet and in 1786 there was a flood of the Susquehanna, when the river was covered with floating pumpkins.² A storm in September of 1795 came suddenly in the night and raised a creek so high that it came into a shanty and floated the puncheons of which the floor was made. The bark roof slid off, and the family was left exposed to the rain.³

In the face of these handicaps, we can understand that discouragement was often inevitable. But it is interesting to note that not infrequently it was the wife who encouraged the husband. One husband who was not acquainted with a wooded country was at first not successful and became irritated. He regretted his coming but his wife would bear up his courage and pleasantly ridicule his little vexations.⁴ Among the wills for the year 1799, recorded at the courthouse at Owego, there is the will of this man, who must have gratefully remembered his wife's help for he stipulated that the son, who received the farm, should give her one-third of the produce and should keep at her door a constant supply of firewood already cut for use.⁵

Such were the first conditions which confronted pioneer women but one must marvel at the rapidity with which these conditions changed. In one short decade life was very different. It was not long before other settlers came to reside near those who had come first and human contacts were established. The latch string was always out and frequently a gathering from twenty miles around assembled at some frontier house or barn raising.⁶

¹*Ibid.*, 14.

²Perkins, 196.

³*History of Tioga*, 143.

⁴*Annals of Binghamton*, 85.

⁵Will of John LeGrange. Union, 1799. (Filed at Owego Courthouse.)

⁶*Directory and Business Advertiser*, 30.

One man who had walked to the mill forty miles with a bushel of wheat in which the whole neighborhood had a share brought back with him a quarter of a pound of tea—a rare article with the settlers. Upon his arrival home his neighbors, who held an interest in the wheat, collected at his house to hold a sort of thanksgiving. The women made shortcake out of the flour, using bear's grease instead of lard. They had no tea kettle, no teapot and no cups and saucers. But they put the tea in a small vessel to steep and in lieu of cups and saucers used a wooden bowl, which they passed around from one to the other. They had a merry time and each person told his best anecdote.¹

When the country was yet new and the inhabitants were remote from each other, pains would be taken to have a day appropriated for visiting and all except those who could not leave home met at the same place. Those who were from the remotest parts stayed over night and spent more or less of the next day. These parties, no doubt, were enjoyed with far more than modern zest.²

In 1796 the launching of the pioneer packet boat of the lakes, *The Sloop of the Seneca*, was the occasion of a great demonstration,³ and in the same year picturesque horse races were held at Bath. At a distance of half a mile from the village, a race-course of a mile in circuit was cleared and on the day advertised sportsmen from New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore are said to have been in attendance. "The high blades of Virginia and Maryland, the fast-boys of Jersey, the wise jockeys of Long Island, men of Ontario, Pennsylvania and Canada, settlers, choppers, gamesters and hunters, to the number of fifteen hundred or two thousand, met on the Pine Plains to see horses run."

The races passed off brilliantly. Colonel Williamson entered a Southern mare and High Sheriff Dunn entered a New Jersey horse. Money was plenty, it seems, and betting lively. "The ladies of the two dignitaries who owned the rival animals, bet each three hundred dollars and a pipe of wine on the horses of their lords, or as otherwise related, poured seven hundred dollars into the apron of a third lady who was stake-holder."⁴

¹*Annals of Binghamton*, 120.

²*Ibid.*, 130.

³Corbett, 134.

⁴McMaster, Guy H., 159-160.

The visit of missionaries was also a social occasion. Itinerant preachers of the Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist persuasion held meetings in private houses and barns. Classes were formed and those persons best qualified by previous experience in leading in prayer were delegated to conduct the services. One woman who was eminently pious made her house a home for strangers and especially the missionaries and ministers.¹ Women joined the classes in large numbers.² Nor can one blame them for their religious zeal when one reads the topic of one of the sermons preached by a visiting minister—"The total depravity of the human heart, the remedy of which God has provided for fallen man and the certainty of the eternal perdition of those who do not avail themselves of that provision."³

The contacts that have been mentioned were to be greatly increased when just at the turn of the century a postoffice was established at Athens. Mail was carried on horseback in a small mail bag once a fortnight and by 1810 there were routes from east to west and from the north once a week.⁴ New roads and public highways to the lakes brought more immigrants and these new relations brought greater opportunities for trade.

At first, foreign articles of every description had been confined to the few that were brought as the costly and choice items in the invoice of household effects. For a number of years the only means of obtaining new articles was from peddlers, who came into the country to purchase the furs and skins of the inhabitants and give in exchange woolen clothes, hats and shoes.⁵

One energetic man from Lansing in Tompkins county would load a boat with grain and go alone to Schenectady, where he traded his wares for calico, tea, sugar and tobacco. After an absence of two months he would return to the mouth of Salmon Creek where the people would gather about his store-boat and buy his goods.⁶

In 1798 Mr. Stephen Tuttle, Jr., opened a large store of general merchandise in Newtown (i. e. Elmira), importing his goods from

¹*Annals of Binghamton*, 90.

²*History of Tioga*, 609.

³Perkins, 202.

⁴*Ibid.*, 154.

⁵*Annals of Binghamton*, 74.

⁶*History of Tioga*, 517.

Philadelphia by way of Wilkesbarre and Tioga. His stock of goods was so complete that the new frame houses which were beginning to appear could be much more adequately equipped than the old log houses. Women could now replace broken articles and add to the furnishings of the home.¹

There were rugs for the floors; and for the kitchens there were tumblers, kettles, frying pans, bake kettles, quart pitchers and jugs, quart bowls, milk crocks and pans, white bone knives and forks, carving knives and forks, butcher's knives, table spoons, pewter basins, iron candle sticks, brass candle sticks, coffee mills, nutmeg graters, sweeping brushes, dust brushes, and plain irons—yes, and even plated sugar tongs. Blankets, bales of cotton, table cloths, coverlids, Russian sheeting, and pillow fustian could now fill the family chest.

The grocery shelf in the store was a temptation to the culinary art of any housewife. Loaf sugar, brown sugar, coffee, Hyson tea, nutmegs, raisins, ginger, allspice, alum, chocolate, lemon juice, salt, cream of tartar, rice, essence of peppermint and oil of mint, were enough to inspire any woman. Moreover, no longer did she have to make the soap for the household. Indigo insured the whiteness of her clothes. Scissors, needles, darning needles, colored thread, sewing silk of light dyes, pins, bobbins, steel lined thimbles, knitting pins and wool cards made the sewing party a real institution.

Nor was there any further excuse for woman's lack of education. Primers, psalms and hymns, Bibles, almanacs, ciphering books, Webster's spelling books, black lead pencils, ink powder, quills and post paper were now available.

When Mr. Stephen Tuttle unpacked his drygoods we can almost feel the feminine heart flutter. Can we not see the woman hesitating in her decision whether the new dress should be of superfine green cloth, or dimity or fustian, or clouded cassimere or Orleans stripe, or green or purple cloth, or perhaps scarlet velvet or chocolate-ground cotton, or nankeen, or cambric or printed chintz? And should it be trimmed with beggars lace, or velvet binding, or beads that could be purchased by the bunch, or quality binding or edge ribbon, narrow and of different colors, or pearl buttons?

¹Mr. Stephen Tuttle in a/c with M Hollenback Cr., May 1798–August 1809. (Chemung County Historical Society MSS, Elmira).

And should the outfit be completed with a chintz shawl, or a colored silk one, or an olive one or a purple one, or a white muslin one? Cotton stockings, kid slippers, long gloves, necklaces, amber beads, Japanese combs, crambo combs, crooked combs, Barcelona handkerchiefs, fancy handkerchiefs, silk handkerchiefs, ivory fans, pocket books and beaver hats left almost nothing to be desired.

Finally, we can almost hear Mr. Stephen Tuttle persuade his customer that one of the looking glasses with a mahogany frame was essential to make the toilet perfect.

Can we wonder that Mr. Tuttle increased his stock each year from 1798 on? Surely pioneer days were drawing to a close in this region.

AMY M. GILBERT

Professor of History, Elmira College

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JEMIMA WILKINSON*

Jemima Wilkinson, the Universal Friend, was born at Cumberland, Rhode Island, November 29, 1752, and died at Jerusalem, New York, July 1, 1819. Her peculiarities of character stimulated the growth of a considerable body of legend. First, there is the general fund of ancient tales commonly told of those who think they have received a divine commission to preach. There is, for instance the old story of the prophet at the riverside who asks the multitude whether they have faith that he can walk on water. If they answer "No," he assures them that he can perform no miracle unless they have faith. If they answer "Yes," he says the people already believe in his power and no miracle is necessary.

A second sort of material added to the Jemima Wilkinson legend is a mass of fictitious sensational narrative inspired by the unorthodox beliefs and heretical preaching of the prophet. The spreading of slanderous and malicious stories as a means of retributive punishment was not uncommon in the bitterly personal and acrimoniously theological age in which she lived.

Four principal biographers have written accounts of Jemima Wilkinson's life. David Hudson, of Geneva, N. Y., in 1821 published an untrustworthy narrative composed practically of sensational fiction; Wilkins Updike, historian of Rhode Island, in 1847 wrote an account of her New England career; S. C. Cleveland, editor of *The Yates County Chronicle*, of Penn Yan, in 1869 interviewed the Friend's surviving neighbors and adherents and collected a substantial fund of information; and finally, Dr. John Quincy Adams, of Geneva, critically sifted the foregoing material and prepared a brief but scholarly biography.

The life of Jemima Wilkinson is of interest to students of history for two reasons. First, her career furnishes a typical example of the romantic religious enthusiasts who flourished in America during the early years of independence; and, secondly, important social or political consequences resulted from her pioneer settlement in 1788 in Western New York.

As a religious enthusiast Jemima Wilkinson was a fairly direct descendant of the so-called French Prophets, or Camisards, who

*Paper read before the New York State Historical Association at Elmira, September 26, 1929.

first appeared in the Cevennes of France in 1688 following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The mountain peasantry of that region, frenzied by persecution, fought battles without regard for life or personal suffering and when gathered in religious assemblies resigned themselves to a Pentacostal hysteria in which they spoke with tongues and prophesied. They chose the most fanatical, whether men, women, or children, as their military and spiritual leaders.

In 1706 this hysterical malady in its religious form was carried to England. In meetings in London, we are told, the prophets were seized with tremblings and staggered until they dropped. They lay on the ground and struck their breasts, and on coming out of the trance, spoke with tongues, and said they had seen the heavens opened and had conversed with angels in paradise and devils in hell. The enthusiasm of these missionaries and the dramatic novelty of their meetings appealed to many of various sects in London who were inclined to sensational religion. They were especially well received among emotional Quakers who were accustomed from childhood to women exhorters and unlicensed preaching.

Chief among these Quaker converts was Ann Lee, who joined the French Prophets in 1758 and quickly superseded Jane Wardley as leader. On account of the hysterical bodily quaking and agitation that prevailed at meetings, the sect soon became known as Shakers. Ann was personally credited with the gift of tongues, the power to discern the secrets of the heart, and the ability to heal by the laying on of hands. She made the Quaker tendency toward communism a Shaker principle and advocated celibacy. In accordance with the belief of the Camisards that the male biblical prophets would appear in later days as women, Jane Wardley was called the spirit of John the Baptist operating in the female line. Ann herself was known as Ann, the Word, or Christ in His Second Coming.

To escape growing intolerance, Ann and eight followers emigrated in 1774 to the New World. They found attentive listeners in New York and New England, for liberty in religion at that time was as popular in America as political independence. The Quaker doctrine that preachers need no training but are ordained, prepared, and supplied by the Inward Light had made preaching

free-for-all. So-called enthusiasts overran the country. New Light sects of various name rose over night. Ann Lee, however, succeeded in attracting more attention than any of her competitors. By word of mouth or print she quickly made her doctrines known throughout New England.

Into this disturbed emotional religious atmosphere came at this time another Quaker girl known as Jemima Wilkinson. She was the eighth of twelve children. Her mother had died when she was but twelve years old and her father and elder sisters had left her to develop according to her own impulses. We are told that she was an omnivorous reader of romances and poetry until 1770 when a sermon of Whitefield's turned her attention to religion.

It is not remarkable, therefore, that this motherless imaginative girl, breathing air surcharged with emotional religion and left to her own impulses, should like Joan of Arc seem to hear monitory voices; nor is it incredible that the phantasmagorical beings conjured up by her fever-ridden brain should be able to persuade her that like other contemporary enthusiasts she too was called to preach. From Quaker training she was easily convinced that the all-sufficient power and grace of the Holy Spirit would divinely ordain, prepare and supply her for the ministry.

According to a document attached to the Jemima Wilkinson Bible, now in possession of Arnold Potter, of Penn Yan, N. Y., the American naval ship *Columbus* discharged prisoners in Providence in the fall of 1776 and thereby introduced a malignant fever which spread through Rhode Island and entered the Wilkinson home. Jemima became ill and apparently died; but, coming to consciousness again, summoned her friends to her bedside and impressively announced that she had been in communication with angels who had informed her that "The Spirit of Life from God had descended to the earth to warn a lost and guilty, gossiping, dying World to flee from the wrath which is to come; to give an invitation to the lost sheep of the House of Israel to come home; and was waiting to assume the Body which God had prepared."

Ever after this day, October 9, 1776, it was maintained by the fever-stricken girl that Jemima Wilkinson of Cumberland had died but that "The Spirit of Life from God" had taken possession of her body and had raised it up with a divine commission to preach.

Doctor Mann, the physician who attended Jemima, declared that there was no evidence of her having died. He said that her "fever being translated to the head" caused her to have other ideas than those she possessed before she was ill. As a result of her delirium she thought she had died and been raised up again for extraordinary purposes.

Whatever the source of her inspiration, Jemima, on recovering from the fever, assumed the name Publick Universal Friend and began to preach. Her native mental gifts and personal beauty created a sensation wherever she appeared. She possessed a well-formed graceful figure above medium height, dark hair, a colorful complexion, and dark eyes that all observers agree were remarkable for their brilliancy and expression. Not unfrequently men and women of New England who had successfully resisted the appeals of other types of religious enthusiasts were melted by Jemima's earnestness and personal charm. Her converts were numbered by hundreds. Between 1777 and 1783 she established churches at South Kingstown and East Greenwich, R. I., New Milford, Conn., and perhaps at one or two other places in New England.

Notwithstanding the success of her ministry Jemima everywhere encountered great opposition. In the first place, some of the more enthusiastic of her adherents, disputing Ann Lee's claim, had made the blasphemous announcement that "The Spirit of Life from God" which had entered into the discarded body of Jemima Wilkinson was none other than Jesus Christ himself. Orthodox preachers naturally were a unit in denouncing the heretical doctrine. Even the Quakers made attendance at Jemima Wilkinson's meeting a matter requiring a paper of contrition. In 1783 the bitter feeling aroused by this heresy was memorialized in a tract published at Providence by Abner Brownwell. It was entitled *Enthusiastical Errors, Transpired and Detected*. It condemned the New England enthusiasts in general but gave particular attention to the errors of Jemima Wilkinson.

Another source of opposition to Jemima's preaching arose from her insistence that family obligations should be subordinated to religious service. George Fox himself had suffered bitterly because of clashes between family duties and the demands of religion. Similar crises the young enthusiast was instrumental in introducing into many New England households. It is true that she did not

demand the severance of family relationships, or insist on celibacy, as Ann Lee had done; but in preaching she did give in some way such an interpretation of Christian duty as to cause more than one husband to leave his wife, or wife to leave her husband. Moreover converts sometimes donated all the property they possessed to the common fund, for the Universal Friend, influenced by the example of Ann Lee, and thinking she followed the practice of the Primitive Christians, planned to organize communistic communities.

In spite of all the controversy such tenets aroused, it is remarkable that scarcely a word was spoken in New England derogatory to the Friend's personal character or her sincerity of purpose. It is significant that at least five of her brothers and sisters joined her Society. Among other supporters and converts were some of the most respected people in Rhode Island. Stephen Hopkins, governor of the state and signer of the Declaration of Independence, was her cordial friend and adviser. Whenever she visited Westerley she made her home at the residence of Joshua Babcock, the friend of Benjamin Franklin and George Washington, a graduate of Yale who had studied in England, a man of polished manner and scholarly habits. To keep up his knowledge of the classics, he was accustomed each morning at family prayers to translate from the Greek Testament. He was one of the incorporators of Brown University. He was major-general of the militia, a member of the state's council of war; for four years he was chief justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island. Babcock never joined the Friend's Society but he often entertained Jemima and her missionary assistants; and he contributed materially to her work.

Another Rhode Island judge who furnished even more aid to the Friend was William Potter of South Kingstown. For six years Jemima and her missionary train made their headquarters in his luxurious home, which the judge had enlarged for their accommodation. Besides holding various positions of public trust, Potter was a member of the state legislature. For many years he was re-elected as chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Washington county, Rhode Island. In 1780 he resigned his judgeship to give more time to the Friend's cause. Leaving his wife in Rhode Island, he aided Jemima in her missionary undertakings in Pennsylvania, and finally followed her to the western wilderness.

From New Milford, Conn., the Universal Friend drew Abraham Dayton and the Bottsford, who locally were among the most respected inhabitants. Thomas Hathaway came from an old and substantial family of New Bedford, Mass. From Worcester, Penn., came David Waggoner, who was a prominent man of affairs in that community. In Philadelphia she won Rachel Malin, daughter of a well-to-do family, a lady of keen intellect and rare spiritual earnestness. William Turpin, another convert, was a distinguished financier. He founded one of the principal banks of New York City; he operated a line of coastal steamships and was the director of other widely extended business enterprises. He was the friend of William Lloyd Garrison and was an active abolitionist. Throughout his life he was the patron of many philanthropies and at death gave his great estate to charity.

In this respect Jemima Wilkinson is distinguished from Ann Lee and the general run of New England enthusiasts. The latter gained converts chiefly from among the ignorant and the credulous; but the Friend was able to convince the most practical and intelligent of her fitness for spiritual leadership. The source of her power over men so experienced and responsible is not clear. Perhaps her influence came from romantic idealism coupled with personal charm and whole-hearted sincerity of purpose. Certainly her power to win so wide a response from the worldly-wise could not have come from pretended miracles and low jugglery, as her biographer Hudson would have us believe.

In 1778 Jemima, contemplating a wider extension of her missionary efforts, was persuaded to undertake a voyage to England. On account of the state of war it was necessary before leaving the country to obtain permission from the military authorities. General John Sullivan was approached with the result recorded as follows in the Records of the State of Rhode Island, 8:468-9:

Whereas William Aldrich, of Smithfield, in this state, preferred a petition, and represented unto this Assembly, that Jemima Wilkinson of Cumberland, single woman, who is a preacher, and under a strong apprehension in her mind, that she is divinely called to go and preach to the people in England; and has for that purpose, obtained General Sullivan's permission to go upon Rhode Island, to take passage from thence to England; and has also obtained his permission to take with her Marcy Wilkinson and Rhoda Scott, as companions.

That they are all unwilling to go, unless some man of their acquaintance can be permitted to go with them.

That he is very desirous to accompany them, and has applied to General Sullivan for that purpose, who refuses to permit him, without the consent of the Assembly be first obtained; and therefore the said William earnestly desireth this Assembly to grant him permission to go upon Rhode Island, in order to go from thence to England with the said Jemima and her companions; and the premises being duly considered,—It is voted and resolved that the prayer of the said William Aldrich, in his aforesaid petition contained, be, and the same is hereby granted; and the said William Aldrich be permitted to go under the direction of General Sullivan, and subject to such regulations as he shall prescribe.

It is of interest that the Friend's recommendation of celibacy was not so peremptory as to prevent the marriage a few months later of the Marcy Wilkinson of the petition, sister of Jemima, to the aforesaid William Aldrich. In 1788 these two started with the first pioneers for the Friend's colony in Western New York, but on the way William became ill with fever and died at Schenectady. Marcy Aldrich went on to Jerusalem and remained a valued member of the colony until her death in extreme old age.

It is by the way characteristic of Hudson's scandalous life of Jemima Wilkinson that the Friend's proposed missionary tour of England, in company with William Aldrich and her sister, as approved by General Sullivan and the Rhode Island legislature, appears as Jemima's intended elopement with a British officer to avoid the disgrace of giving birth to an illegitimate child.

For some reason the projected foreign tour was never consummated. In its stead Jemima extended her missionary efforts in her own land. In October 1782, she arrived in Philadelphia with Sarah Richards, Abigail Dayton, Judge William Potter, James Parker and two other men.

Of these assistants Sarah Richards and James Parker were of the type of the French Prophets. Sarah Richards professed to be "the prophet Daniel operating in these latter days in the female line;" and James Parker was said to be inspired with the spirit of Elijah. Parker often made himself ridiculous by wearing outlandish garments which he thought copied the dress of the ancient prophets. Sarah Richards sometimes fell to the ground in strange fits with twitchings and quakings and heaving of the

breast. On regaining consciousness she announced that she had visited heaven and had received divine enlightenment. These *views* of Sarah Richards, as they were called, are said to have largely determined the conduct and policy of the Society during its earlier years. Jemima herself and Judge William Potter, so far as we know, were never subject to such emotional seizures. After Sarah Richards' death in 1793 the less sensational and more spiritual influence of Rachel Malin prevailed and the Society's policy was thereby modified for the better in various ways.

One who listened to the Friend's preaching in Philadelphia (*American Museum*, 1:254) says that at her first appearance she spoke in a private house but was stoned and insulted. Later she was admitted to St. George's Methodist Church, where as the record informs us, "a large concourse of people attended, when the female preacher, after having sat some time in silence, arose and with an agreeable sweetness and elegance, with propriety addressed the auditory (above one hour) and that in such an awful and powerful manner declaring the truths of the gospel of Jesus Christ, that numbers were convicted and bowed down under the power of her ministry and sighs and tears were shed in such abundance, many confessing that such preaching and praying (for she concluded with prayer) they had never before been acquainted with."

A more worldly account is found in the journal of Francois Marquis de Barbé-Marbois. The Marquis, a member of the French war commission, in describing the sights of Philadelphia, gives an account of Jemima Wilkinson's meeting. He says he will omit a description of her sect

which has been added to the five or six hundred others in which so many imprudent lambs have lost their way. I prefer to tell you of the impression which the prophetess makes, and how she attracts our worldly attention. This soul from heaven has chosen rather a beautiful body for its dwelling place, and many living ladies would not object to animate these dead remains.

Jemima Wilkinson, or rather the woman whom we call by that name, is about twenty-two years old; she has beautiful features, a fine mouth, and animated eyes; her hair is parted in the middle and falls loosely on her shoulders. She washes it every day with cold water and never powders it; travel has browned her a little; she has an air of pensive melancholy; she has acquired no grace, but has all those which Nature gives. She comes forward with ease

and freedom and at the same time with all imaginable modesty. She has a big gray felt hat with turned down brim that she wears, and she places it on the desk of her pulpit when she preaches. She wears a sort of frock of white linen knotted under the chin like a peignoir. It falls to her feet without marking her waist; the sleeves expose only the tips of her hands.

She has six apostles in her suite; there are three men who speak at her meetings, and three women who keep silence. One of these men has fulfilled the functions of chief judge in his province with distinction for twenty-five years. Won over by grace, he joined the suite of Jemima four or five months ago. . . .

I was curious to hear her. I went with seven or eight French officers and, as the people were kind enough to make room for us, we found ourselves near the pulpit. Despite our number and the movement that our unexpected arrival caused in the assembly, she appeared not to perceive us; she continued to speak, eyes lowered, with much freedom and facility.

To us her discourse appeared to be composed of the ordinary things of the Bible and the Fathers; she enunciated so correctly, although without elegance, that I thought she was reciting a prepared sermon, and it was hard for me to convince myself that she spoke from inspiration, or, as the profane say, extempore. Having cast her eyes on us French, she appeared to remark us for the first time. As she was speaking of the attachment men have for the things of this world, she continued thus:—

“Among those who are here listening to me, how few have been led here by the desire for their salvation. Curiosity attracts them; they have a mind to relate extraordinary things when they return to their own country.”

I swear to you that for the moment I believed her either to be a prophetess or a fortune teller, and I expected to hear her speak of my diary.

“Do they believe, these foreigners in the House of the Lord, that their presence flatters me? I disdain their honors, I despise greatness and wealth. Seek me no more, hear me no more, if you are not touched by grace; withdraw yourselves, profane no more this temple if you are still in the lakes¹ of the Infernal Angel; but if you are disposed to enter in the way of salvation, if my words have softened your hearts, if I snatch a single one of you from the danger that he runs, I have not come too far to bring the light, and you have not traveled too far to seek it.”

Jemima accepts nothing in the way of pecuniary alms. She and her disciples possess nothing but what is necessary to live, and they receive gifts that the piety of the faithful brings them. She lives quietly; her conduct and morals are irreprehensible.

¹This word is rendered *snares* in the translation by E. P. Chase. P. N.

It was not long, however, before the Friend's heresies again aroused opposition. In Philadelphia, as in New England, families were again broken up; and again the bitterest hostility was stirred by the insistence of some of the Friend's followers that Christ in His Second Coming had chosen the body of Jemima Wilkinson as His tabernacle. When the Friend was questioned concerning this doctrine she replied in enigmas, or referred inquirers to Sarah Richards and James Parker, who following Shaker precedent posed as her two apocalyptic witnesses.

David Waggoner, of Worcester, denied that there was any such woman as Jemima Wilkinson. When questioned further, he replied that if a man lives in a house, "and another person removes into it, it is not then proper to call the house by its first name, but by that of the person who removes into it."

Peculiarly touching, however blasphemous, is the testimony of William Turpin. In 1833, fourteen years after the Friend had been laid in a nameless grave, when her Society had been scattered and Rachel Malin was a forgetful old woman, when Turpin himself at the age of eighty, after a life devoted to philanthropy, was solemnly and thoughtfully contemplating his approaching death, he prepared an elaborate will of many printed pages, naming fifty-nine bequests, and closing with these words; "I now resign my soul to rest in the divine love of God, and Christ my Savior and universal Friend, to the endless ages of eternity."

As the churches one by one closed their doors to Jemima and opposition grew more bitter, scandalous stories arose, stories as bigoted and incredible as those related of witches or crime of Jewish ritual. For instance the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for March 28, 1787, gives an account of a woman known as Sarah Wilson who offered to make affidavit that at David Waggoner's one night she awoke to find Abigail Dayton trying to choke her to death because she had spoken disparagingly of the Friend. In spite of the fact that internal evidence indicates that Sarah Wilson had suffered from a bad dream, two correspondents sent letters to the *Gazette* beseeching the authorities to bring the followers of Jemima Wilkinson to court on Sarah Wilson's charge. It is significant of the times that the *Gazette* for July 18 of that same year records how a woman suffering under the implication of being a witch was carried through the streets of Philadelphia and was hooted and pelted as she passed along.

Discouraged by increasing opposition and scarcely able longer to obtain a hearing in New England or Pennsylvania, Jemima decided to relinquish her missionary efforts and attempt to establish a colony for her Society "where no intruding foot could enter," and where her adherents, freed from persecution, could practise the principles she advocated.

In seeking a location for this experiment she naturally turned to the Genesee Country. In Rhode Island she had lived under the military rule of General John Sullivan whose soldiers on returning later from the expedition to Western New York had spread tales of the fertility of the region; and in Pennsylvania political orators had emphasized the beauty of the Genesee lakes and the richness of the Genesee land, for it was reported that the British, contrary to the provisions of the treaty of 1783, were holding the forts at Oswego and Niagara in the hope that the Genesee territory could be made a part of Canada when the proposed new treaty with the United States was negotiated. British subjects and American loyalists had already begun to settle near the forts. To facilitate American colonization and check such British ambitions, a great road had been projected from Philadelphia through the wilderness to Fort Tioga, the gateway to the coveted territory. This highway, following the route taken by Sullivan's army, was quickly put under construction; and in 1788, according to the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for September 28 of that year, it had become passable for emigrants.

Two years before the completion of this road, however, the Friend had ordered Ezekiel Shearman to go to the Genesee Tract and endeavor to find a suitable location for a New Jerusalem. Shearman made the trip and reported enthusiastically concerning the richness of the land but discouraged immediate occupation in view of the hostility of the Indians.

Shearman's conclusion was well-taken, inasmuch as the Senecas on account of numerous grievances were growing hostile and were contemplating alliance with the Miamis whom British sympathizers had stirred to warfare. The Indian situation later became so acute that the Government was forced to send successively to the Indian frontier, Generals Harmar and St. Clair. To the surprise and anger of George Washington, each of these commanders was defeated. The commander-in-chief then, wishing to take no further chances, ordered Wayne to subdue the warring tribes.



(From Cleveland, History of Yates County, 1873)

JEMIMA WILKINSON
The Universal Friend



(From Cleveland, History of Yates County, 1873)
FIRST RESIDENCE OF THE FRIEND IN JERUSALEM



(From Cleveland, History of Yates County, 1873)
FINAL RESIDENCE OF THE FRIEND IN JERUSALEM

While these events were in progress and the Indians were still hostile, the Friend, in 1787, sent a second exploring party, consisting of Abraham Dayton, Richard Smith and Thomas Hathaway, into the Genesee Tract; and in 1788, preceding even the Indian council that gave title to the Genesee land (Canandaigua, 1794), Wayne's victory at Fallen Timber (1794) that made a general peace with the Indians, and the Jay treaty that put at rest the rising territorial dispute, she sent twenty-five members of her Society to lay the foundations of the New Jerusalem.

The Friend's courageous founding of this colony under circumstances so perilous and discouraging was the direct consequence of her religious enthusiasm. She trusted in God for her protection. She had faith that kind treatment and upright dealing would touch the hearts of the red men and subdue their savage instincts; nor was her faith unjustified. On her first appearance at Jerusalem, the Indians accepted her as their friend, and never afterward molested her settlement. The colony she founded proved to be more influential than the Tioga road in drawing immigration into Western New York. As a result of Jemima Wilkinson's enthusiasm, American occupation of the territory was a reality beyond all question when Jay negotiated his treaty with the British in 1794.

These immigrants of 1788 were the first permanent settlers to cultivate New York soil west of Seneca Lake. The first season they cleared twelve acres of land and sowed it to wheat. The following year David Waggoner and Thomas Hathaway visited Governor Clinton and were assured that the pioneers would be permanently provided with land as soon as public sales could be arranged.

In 1790 the Friend herself with many additional adherents removed to the new colony. The Federal census for that year reports that there were 260 inhabitants in the Friend's settlement. Before the close of 1791 Thomas Hathaway and others, acting as trustees for the Society, bought of Phelps and Gorham six square miles of land. They called the township Jerusalem, a name which it still holds. About the same time Judge William Potter, acting as trustee, and also in his own right, took title to several thousand additional acres.

Meanwhile the members of the Society had built a saw-mill and grist-mill that served a wide extent of territory. At that time there was no other mill nearer than Tioga Point, and the next nearest was at Fort Stanwix.

Under the conditions of actual settlement, it was found necessary to alter the communistic policy under which the New Jerusalem was originally conceived. Each head of a family was assigned to a farm which he might eventually buy, or he was permitted to purchase land of outsiders. The unmarried and unattached could either take title to property or could live in the Friend's household and cultivate the common land. The virgin soil returned bountiful crops, the pioneers were cheerful and contented, and prosperity prevailed for some years in the New Jerusalem.

This prosperity, however, had its disadvantages. The enormous crops grown by the Friend's adherents had from the first attracted settlers to the adjacent townships. In 1791 Charles Williamson, as agent of an English corporation, purchased over a million acres of land of Robert Morris and soon offered it for settlement. When in 1794 the Canandaigua treaty ended the fear of Indian uprisings, and the Jay treaty in the same year settled the territorial disputes, immigrants came into the neighborhood by hundreds. The intruding foot, which the Friend had exiled herself to escape, began to menace her colony on every side.

Land multiplied in value twenty- to forty-fold. Without fertilization and with little care, the soil continued to produce abundant crops. Wheat was marketable at a good price. Grain could be shipped from Geneva by the Mohawk route to New York, or could be floated from Bath down the Susquehanna to Baltimore. As means increased, the Friend's adherents began to build frame houses and purchase luxuries; and in the course of time the young people contemplated marriage. It was the old story; the Friend's Society, that had flourished under persecution, was menaced by prosperity.

Then a mysterious trouble arose. For some reason, Judge William Potter and James Parker left the Friend's Society. Potter claimed as his personal property land acquired at the Friend's request for the use of the Society. Whether his and Parker's defection was due solely to this dispute, or to a doctrinal

difference, or to some other more obscure cause of dissatisfaction, is not known. The trouble culminated in James Parker's bringing the Friend into court on a charge of blasphemy.

In 1800 Jemima appeared before the grand jury in Canandaigua, Judge Ambrose Spencer presiding. With great shrewdness and cunning, if we may believe the traditional report, she was able to evade direct answers when asked whether or not she was Christ in His Second Coming; but she did explicitly deny that she had ever attempted to walk on water, raise the dead, or work any miracle except as the sick had been healed in answer to her prayers. She said there was no need for miracles or signs, since the fruits of her ministry should attest its source. At the conclusion of Jemima's statement of belief, which took the form of a sermon, the indictment was dropped. Cleveland says the judge remarked, "We have heard good counsel; and if we live in harmony with what this woman has told us, we shall be sure to be good people here, and reach a final rest in heaven."

The Friend returned to her home in Jerusalem and, except for addresses to the Society, gave up public speaking. She caused an elaborate residence to be erected; she kept a carriage and lived thereafter with a degree of luxury that some deemed inconsistent with the self-denial that she had advocated and practised in the earlier part of her career. There is, however, no authority for Hudson's statement that she took the property of her followers without payment, saying, "The Lord hath need of this." Carefully kept account books in the hands of Arnold Potter show that household provisions and labor on the Society's land were duly ordered and paid for even to the smallest details.

Toward the end of her life the Friend became a disappointed and disillusioned woman. She was disfigured by dropsy. Most of her followers, except dependents and those personally attached, had left her; and she became involved in legal struggles for the possession of the residue of the Society's land. The magic of her eye and tongue had gone; and in place of the influence she formerly exercised, she became little more than a sensational attraction for sightseers. Throughout her last days the records show that a succession of curious and smirking travellers (who had their prototype in the Duc de Liancourt) came to gaze on her, eat the food which she still served with habitual hospitality, and go their way.

A typical instance is given in *The Christian Disciple*, for 1817, 5: 277, in an *Extract from a Journal of a Trip to the Falls of Niagara in 1812*:

Notwithstanding the lady had received our letter as soon as she came home, we were suffered to wait in her kitchen three-fourths of an hour without any offer of refreshment, before we were admitted to an audience.

At last her prime minister appeared to conduct us into her presence. Her name is Rachel Mellen; she is from Pennsylvania, and has yielded a considerable fortune to the use of the Friend. . . . She rose to meet us, and shook hands with us. As soon as we were seated, I observed that the end of our visit was to gratify our curiosity, and to obtain such information as she could give us as to the peculiarities of her religious tenets and her modes of worship. She took no notice of any implied inquiry. . . . When we pressed her too closely her refuge was declamation which continued until our patience was exhausted, and the subject of our inquiry lost. Her claims to a divine commission, which were not openly stated, but closely implied to us, it was particularly difficult to induce her to defend. She appeared somewhat offended when I told her, that I knew of no other test of divine authority but miraculous power; nor would she explain to me how I might detect imposition. . . . Her mental powers are vigorous. She has acuteness and cunning and must be skilled in human nature, to have gained such an ascendancy over so many minds. I was astonished at the dexterity with which she evaded our questions, and at the same time she endeavored to entrap us.

The account continues for some pages, and the author concludes that Jemima was sincere but shrewd, selfish, and ambitious.

A little more than a year before her death, when her illness had become serious and painful, the Friend made her will. She provided solicitously for the poor members of her Society, but left the residue of the estate in trust to Rachel and Margaret Malin. The document was dated "the twenty-fifth day of the second month in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and eighteen" and was signed with the name "Publick Universal Friend."

Several months later, July 7, 1818, by advice of counsel these words were added: "Be it remembered, That in order to remove all doubts of the due execution of the foregoing Will and Testament, being the person who before the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, was known and called by the name of Jemima Wilkinson, but since that time as the Universal Friend, do make

public and declare, the within instrument, as my last Will and Testament, as witness my hand and seal this seventeenth day of the seventh month July in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighteen.

her
cross
Jemima X Wilkinson
or mark
or Universal Friend."

The Friend was unwilling even in the face of death to admit that Jemima Wilkinson had not died on October 9, 1776. She would not write her name, but signed with a cross. She died July 1, 1819, and was buried in an unmarked grave on a pine-covered hillock on her farm.

Controversy over the Friend's property occupied the courts until 1828 when it was finally decided, as the Friend had maintained, that those to whom the original deeds had been issued were agents of the Society and had only the rights of trustees.

Immediately after the Friend's death, and while the Society's property was involved in litigation, David Hudson, a real estate dealer of Geneva, published the sensational biography in which he discredited the Friend and disparaged her Society. Although the book is utterly untrustworthy it was circulated widely and is still the source of the prevailing slanders that have clouded the memory of the Friend. Newspaper correspondents from Providence to Canandaigua, with style and diction reminiscent of Hudson, perennially reprint the incredible tales. Updike, Cleveland, Adams, and all who have written thoughtfully concerning Jemima Wilkinson, have rejected Hudson's testimony. Those who consider all the evidence judicially will conclude that the real Jemima Wilkinson was the product of the romantic and credulous times in which she lived and was a religious enthusiast, or zealot, or fanatic, but not an adventuress or charlatan.

ROBERT P. ST. JOHN

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OBITUARIES

WILLIAM PIMM BAKER, Litt.D., editor of the *Syracuse Post-Standard*, died January 8, 1930, at his home in Syracuse. Although he had been in failing health nearly a year, he kept to the work he loved until physical weakness compelled him to lay down his pen.

Dr. Baker was born at Skaneateles, January 3, 1870, the son of Simeon and Elisabeth (Pimm) Baker. Both of his parents were of the old English families, those sturdy pioneers who came to America in sailing vessels during the early part of the last century. When he was quite young his mother died, and a few years later his father also passed away, and the boy went to live with his Grandmother Pimm, to whom he owed much for what he was in later years.

After completing his course at the Skaneateles High School, at the age of 16 he entered Cornell University from which he was graduated in 1891 with high honors. His newspaper career began in 1885 when he was 15 years old and helped turn the wheels of the hand press of the Skaneateles *Democrat*. From there he went into the composing room to "stick type" for 14 cents a stick. After graduating from Cornell, he turned to the business about which he knew most, and in 1892 became a reporter on the *Syracuse Evening News*. In 1893 he was sporting editor of the *Syracuse Courier*. From there he went to the *Standard* and then to the *Herald* where he was city editor until 1908 when he was made Secretary of the Syracuse Chamber of Commerce.

Late in 1909 Dr. Baker was called to the editorial chair of the *Post-Standard* and there he remained twenty years, relinquishing his position only with his death. After becoming editor, he was made secretary and a director of the company. His editorials were always vigorous, decisive, clean-cut, inspiring and enlightening. He had the gift of writing and his style made the *Post-Standard's* editorial page recognized as one of the foremost in thought in the country. His "Review of the Week" in the Sunday edition had long been one of the leading features, watched carefully by readers who wanted an intelligent, unbiased, instructive summary of political and world events. Probably very few men were better informed on politics of both major parties than Dr.

Baker. He was a Democrat in early manhood but later gave his whole-hearted support to the Republican party. For many years he attended state and national conventions of both parties and his associations with the leaders were intimate, their friendships never being impaired by political differences of opinion.

On February 9, 1921, Dr. Baker was elected Regent of the University of the State of New York; the same year Syracuse conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters. As a layman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, he was one of the foremost advisers in the Central New York Diocese. He was vestryman of All Saints Church, and for some time had been a member of the standing committee of the diocese. He was an earnest Christian, deeply interested in the promotion of the church.

Dr. Baker was the founder of the "Shelfless Library". When he read a good book, he gave it to someone else with the instruction that it be passed on as long as the book held together. All that he accomplished by thus encouraging thought and endeavor will never be known. He gave many books to the Syracuse Library, mostly reference books for permanent use. The Boys Club was dear to his heart, and no man was more responsible than he for the building of the fine clubhouse on Fayette Park to take the place of the old "hang-out" of the boys of the neighborhood. He knew and loved boys and, realizing that some of the street gamins if handled rightly would make the leading citizens of the future, he felt it a duty to the community to give the boys of the street a place to play under kindly supervision which would keep them headed the right way.

From his college days he was a loyal son of Cornell, an alumnus who worked ever for the interests of that institution. He was a member of the Cornell University Club, Friends of Reading, Syracuse Boys' Club, University Club of Syracuse, Citizens' Club, Chamber of Commerce, and the Cornell Club of New York.

In 1898 Dr. Baker married Miss Mary Jack of Syracuse. Besides his wife, he is survived by one son—Jack Stuart Baker, of the editorial department of the *Post-Standard*; and three daughters—Mrs. Timothy J. Maloney, Mrs. E. J. Dillon, and Miss Mary Virginia Baker.

HUGH ARTHUR BEATON, for twenty years manager of the New York Telephone Company in the Glens Falls district, died at his home in that city on February 1, 1930, following a heart attack.

Mr. Beaton was born December 8, 1861, in London, England, the son of Arthur and Martha Beaton. He was educated in private schools in his native country and came to the United States in 1882.

He was associated with the Metropolitan Insurance Company for five years and then for the same length of time with Cluett Peabody & Company of Troy. He first became connected with the telephone business twenty-nine years ago when he obtained employment as an agent at Troy with the Hudson River Telephone Company. When the New York Telephone acquired the Hudson River company in 1908, Mr. Beaton was made chief clerk at Troy. He came to Glens Falls in February 1909, as acting manager for the New York Telephone Company, and in July of that year he was appointed manager, a position which he continued to hold until he retired January 1, 1930. Since that time he has been a special agent for the company.

During his many years of association with the telephone business, Mr. Beaton won a host of friends throughout Glens Falls and vicinity. In the last city election he was the Republican candidate for mayor, and although not elected, he was given a big vote which indicated the esteem in which he was held by the people of the community.

Mr. Beaton had a "genius for fellowship." He loved companionship and gave unselfishly of his ability and energy in the work of various fraternal organizations where his leadership was always an inspiration to his fellow members. He was a Thirty-second Degree Mason, a member of Glens Falls Lodge of Elks, the Rotary Club, and a past president of the Glens Falls Masonic Club. He was a member of Oriental Temple, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, of Troy; Glens Falls chapter 55, R.A.M.; Glens Falls lodge 121, F. and A. M.; a past commander of Calvary Commandery 69, Knights Templar, of Hudson Falls; a past grand of Sagamore Lodge I.O.O.F.; and a past president of the Glens Falls Shrine Club.

In 1892 Mr. Beaton married Margaret Ellis, a resident of Canada. Besides his wife, he is survived by two sons—Hugh Arthur, Jr., of Los Angeles, Calif., and George Ellis of Glens Falls.

EDWARD L. CLARKSON, of Tivoli and Clermont, N. Y., died on September 13, 1928. He was born at Clermont, Columbia county, July 29, 1850, the son of Levinus and Mary (Livingston) Clarkson. His mother was a granddaughter of Chancellor Robert Livingston who administered the oath of office to Washington in 1789 and who worked with Robert Fulton in the invention of the first steamboat.

Mr. Clarkson was greatly interested in the raising of a fund, the income from which would insure perpetual care for the old Red Church Cemetery where soldiers of the Revolution and five other wars are buried. This church is in the town of Red Hook, Dutchess county, and was built about 1759 by Philip Livingston, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

On October 11, 1913, Mr. Clarkson was married to Rachel E. Coon of Clermont, who survives him.

COLONEL WILLIAM HENRY CORBUSIER, U. S. Army retired, died February 7, 1930, at the Letterman General Hospital, San Francisco, California. He was born in New York City, April 10, 1844, the son of William Morrison and Mahala (Myers) Corbusier, through whom he descended from early settlers of Manhattan and New Jersey. One of his ancestors was the first white child born in Manhattan.

Colonel Corbusier received his medical degree from Bellevue Hospital Medical College. He served as surgeon with Illinois troops during part of the Civil War; also in many of the Indian campaigns of the West; as medical supply officer of the first expedition to the Philippines in 1898; chief surgeon, Department of Mindanao, Philippine Islands; and as surgeon at many garrisons in the United States. At the time of his retirement in 1908, he was serving as chief surgeon of the Department of the Columbia. During the World War he re-entered active service and served on court martial duty at the port of embarkation until August 15, 1919.

He was active in promoting the welfare of the American Indians and made valuable contributions to the study of Indian ethnology, being known as an authority on the Indian sign language. His most important contribution was the "Corbusier Winter Counts," published by the Bureau of Ethnology, and which received favor-

able comment in scientific publications both at home and abroad. He befriended the Indians of Arizona and became the fast friend of numerous tribes, having access to the secrets of the medicine men.

His duties as medical supply officer of the Philippine Expeditionary Force were tremendous, involving responsibilities which no one not on the scene could understand. He was the first to make use of the soldiers' identification tag in this country. On his recommendation, the American Red Cross furnished a large number of the soldiers of the Philippine Expeditionary Force with such tags, and similar tags were given to all the troops during the World War.

He was a member of the Empire State Society Sons of the American Revolution; Society of Colonial Wars, in the State of New York; Society of the War of 1812, of Pennsylvania; National Society of the Army of the Philippines; the American Flag Association; the Military Order of Moro Campaigns; Association of Military Surgeons; Order of the Indian Wars of the U. S.; Military Order of the World War; Army and Navy Club of America.

Colonel Corbusier was married March 22, 1869, at Amite, La., to Fanny, daughter of George Towers Dunbar, engineer of the Board of Public Works of the State of Louisiana. Mrs. Corbusier died at Plainfield, N. J., in 1918. He is survived by four sons—Dr. Harold D. Corbusier, Plainfield, N. J., Colonel Medical Reserves, U. S. Army; Colonel P. W. Corbusier, U. S. Army, San Antonio, Texas; Francis A. Corbusier, Alameda, Calif.; and William T. Corbusier, Long Beach, Calif. Interment was in the Arlington National Cemetery.

LEONARD HOUSE GILES, active for more than a generation in business as well as religious and philanthropic endeavors in the community in which he lived, died after a brief illness at his home in Troy, February 24, 1930.

Mr. Giles, the son of Henry Godkin and Harriet (House) Giles, was born in Rome, N. Y., May 23, 1841. He came of English ancestors who had moved to County Wexford, Ireland, at the time of the Rebellion, and it was there that his grandfather, Henry Giles, was born in 1795. When he came to America, he settled in Oneida county.

The first seventeen years of Mr. Giles' life were spent in Rome where he attended the public schools and the Rome Academy. In 1859 the family moved to Troy and here for a year he studied law in the offices of Judge George Gould. The professional idea was then abandoned and he entered the employ of the J. M. Warren Company. This connection he severed in 1866 that he might become associated with his father, under the firm name of H. G. Giles & Son, manufacturers of stoves. After the death of the elder Giles in 1879 the son conducted the business until he disposed of the plant in 1888. He then started the nickel plating and manufacturing business which later expanded into a co-partnership, known as the Giles & Nielson Nickel Works, one of the live industrial assets of the city of Troy.

Mr. Giles was always interested in any activity which promised to benefit the community in which he lived and gave unstintingly of his valuable time to serve many organizations in whose principles he believed. In politics he was an independent Republican and, while he never sought or held public office, he was ever interested in the city's affairs.

He was a member of the Troy Club, a charter member of the Rensselaer County Historical Society, a life Director of the Troy Automobile Association, a member of the William Floyd Chapter Sons of the Revolution, and the Troy Chamber of Commerce. He was senior deacon emeritus of the First Baptist Church of which he had been a devoted member nearly all his life, and to which he and his wife had contributed liberally for the improvements to the building and the organ. He was always one of the most loyal supporters of the work of the *Troy Times* Fresh Air Fund, and the hospital at the Home in Grafton is a gift of the Giles family. Mr. Giles was a world traveller and even at an advanced age had visited many countries abroad. He was a connoisseur of Oriental rugs and in his home are many interesting specimens of the weaver's art.

Mr. Giles was married to Susan Elizabeth Snow, daughter of Captain Henry Snow at Cohasset, Mass., January 20, 1869. After her death, he was married at Jersey City, N. J., December 15, 1880 to Anna Laurell Clarke, daughter of Judge Gaylord J. and Frances (Corey) Clarke. Mrs. Giles has the unusual distinction of having eight ancestors who participated in the Revolutionary

War. Besides his wife, he is survived by one son, Henry Snow Giles, of Troy, and one daughter, Mrs. Anna Louise Giles Nichols, wife of Dr. Henry W. Nichols, Curator of the Field Museum in Chicago.

HENRY RAYMOND HOWLAND, well known as a philosopher and scientist, died at his home in Buffalo, February 4, 1930.

He was born in Springfield, Mass., June 1, 1844, and was the sixth in descent from the Mayflower Pilgrim, John Howland. He was the son of Job Fisher and Emily (Alvord) Howland. He spent his early life in New York City and was graduated from the College of the City of New York in 1863. Three years later he was given the degree of A.M. by this college.

Mr. Howland was president of the Thomas Indian School at Iroquois, N. Y., from 1895 to 1913. He was vice-president of the International Congress of Americanists and a former president of the American Association of Museums. At his death he was director emeritus and corresponding secretary of the Buffalo Society of Natural Science, of which he was formerly president. He was a real student of American history and all his writings showed a wonderful command of the English language. Keenly interested in religious and educational affairs he was for forty-eight years a trustee of Buffalo Seminary, having been elected honorary president after serving as president from 1910 to 1923.

Mr. Howland was a member of the Society of Mayflower Descendants, the Sons of the Revolution, Phi Beta Kappa fraternity, American Microscopical Society, Archaeological Institute, American Anthropological Society, American Oriental Society, Buffalo Historical Society.

On September 11, 1866, at Trenton, N. J., Mr. Howland was married to Rebecca Letchworth, who died several years ago. He is survived by two daughters—Mrs. Emily H. Lyman of Great Barrington, Mass., and Mrs. Florence L. Denison of Winchester, Mass.

LOUIS MARSHALL, LL.D., L.H.D., of New York City, a prominent lawyer, an outstanding representative of the Jewish faith, and a philanthropist of wide and inclusive interests, died at Geneva, Switzerland, September 11, 1929.

He was born in Syracuse, N. Y., December 14, 1856, the son of Jacob and Zili (Strauss) Marshall. He was educated in the Syracuse public schools and at Columbia University Law School. He received the degree of LL.D. from Syracuse University in 1913, and L.H.D. from Hebrew Union College in 1920 and from the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1927. Syracuse University also made him an honorary member of Phi Beta Kappa.

Mr. Marshall began the practice of law at Syracuse in 1878 and at the time of his death he was a member of the law firm of Guggenheimer, Untermeyer & Marshall of New York City. He had a prominent part in many important cases in the higher courts, especially those relating to constitutional and corporation law. He also argued many cases in behalf of oppressed minorities; including the Negroes, Japanese, Haitians and Indians. In 1902 he was appointed by Mayor Seth Low to investigate conditions on the east side of the city. Governor Charles E. Hughes appointed him in 1908 chairman of the State Immigration Commission. He had the distinction of being a member of the State Constitutional Conventions of 1894 and 1915. He was a leader in the movement for the abrogation of the treaty with Russia, and secured the enactment of laws for regulating private and foreign banking, and other reform legislation. In 1910 he was mediator of a cloak makers' strike and prepared a protocol of settlement which has since been the basis of numerous strike adjustments.

At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 he headed the committee of Jewish delegations from all over the world, and in that capacity was instrumental in having incorporated into the treaties clauses guaranteeing equal rights for racial, linguistic and religious minorities in all the governments reconstituted by the Peace Treaties. Just prior to his death, at an international meeting in Zurich, he was chosen chairman of the Jewish Agency for the rehabilitation of Palestine.

Since 1910 he had been a Trustee of Syracuse University, to which he presented a law library. He was for many years president of Temple Emmanuel of New York City, and also chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. He was founder of the Jewish Protectory and Aid Society, president of American Jewish Relief Committee which with kindred organizations collected over \$75,000,000 for the

relief of Jewish war sufferers. Indeed he was a leader in all matters that had for their object the higher interests of his race.

He was a member of American Law Institute, American Bar Association, New York State and County Bar Associations, as well as many other legal, social, civic and educational organizations, by these contacts showing the breadth of his sympathies. For eighteen years he was president of the New York State College of Forestry, from its foundation to the time of his death.

On May 6, 1895, he was married to Florence Lowenstein of New York, who died in 1916. He is survived by three sons—James Marshall of New York, Robert Marshall of Baltimore, Md., and George Marshall of New York; and one daughter, Mrs. Jacob Billikopf, of Philadelphia, Pa.

MILES HERBERT MERWIN, Blue Mountain Lake, N. Y., died February 28, 1930, at the U. S. Veterans' Hospital at Lake City, Florida. During his service overseas he had influenza and his death followed several years' illness. He and his wife were spending the winter at Avon Park, Florida, in the hope of improving his health.

Mr. Merwin was born at Blue Mountain Lake, August 3, 1881, the son of Miles Tyler and Frances L. (Barker) Merwin. He was the tenth Miles Merwin in direct descent from the first settler at Milford, Conn., in 1645. Among his most valued possessions was the sword of another Miles Merwin who served as lieutenant in the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars.

After graduating from the Glens Falls Academy in 1900 and the Troy Academy in 1901, he became a draftsman and surveyor at Glens Falls, later going to New York where for a number of years he was with the U. S. Geodetic Survey.

For several years he was a member of Company K 105th Infantry, Glens Falls, and from 1911 to 1914 was a member of the 22nd Regiment, Engineers, of New York City with the rank of 2nd lieutenant. He served on the Mexican border with the 65th Infantry of Buffalo and went to France with the advance school detachment of that regiment after it had been reorganized at Spartanburg, S. C., as field artillery. He spent fourteen months in the service in France, taking part in the St. Mihiel demonstration, the Meuse Argonne offensive and the battles north of Verdun.

He was honorably discharged from the service at the close of the war with the rank of 1st lieutenant.

On August 16, 1916, he was married to Virginia C. Brucellarie of Bogota, N. J. Besides his wife he is survived by his parents, two sisters—Mrs. George B. Wells of Glens Falls, and Mrs. G. H. Schulte of Glendale, Calif.; and two brothers—Russell L. Merwin of Blue Mountain Lake, and Theodore E. Merwin of Harmon.

MAJOR GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM, dean of American publishers, died at his home in New York City, February 27, 1930, following a short illness of pernicious anemia.

He was the son of George Palmer and Victorine (Haven) Putnam and was born April 2, 1844, in London where his father had established a branch of the New York publishing house of Wiley & Putnam. After the family's return to America, he was educated at the Columbia Grammar School, New York City. Later he attended the Sorbonne in Paris and the University of Berlin. He was studying at the University of Göttingen when the Civil War began, and determined to come home and enlist.

His war service extended from September 1862 to September 1865. He enlisted as a private at the age of 18 with the 176th New York Volunteers, and eventually was advanced to major. He was taken prisoner on Oct. 19, 1864, at the Battle of Cedar Creek, Va., during Sheridan's drive in the Shenandoah Valley, and after passing the winter in Libby and Danville prisons, was exchanged the following March and rejoined his regiment. He saw active service in Louisiana, including the Red River expedition of Banks and in helping to repel Jubal Early's invasion of Maryland and the attempted capture of Washington. He was present at the surrender of General Johnston in North Carolina, April 26, 1865.

After the war Major Putnam entered the publishing business. His father had been instrumental in acquainting England and the continent with the little known literature of the then young United States, and this work was carried on by his son. In 1887 he led in organizing the American Copyright League and was secretary during the contest for international copyright. When the law was enacted here in 1891, the French government in recognition of his services awarded him the Cross of the Legion of

Honor. A testimonial was also accorded him by a group of appreciative British authors.

As president of G. P. Putnam's Sons, he brought to the firm the prestige which it enjoys in the publishing field today. While directing his business he took a hand in public affairs, without holding office, and made friendships with many of the leading public figures of the day. As an independent in politics, he helped found the New York City Club and the Citizens Union, organizations devoted to civic welfare. He became a member of the Free Trade League in 1866 and served as its president since 1916. He was a strong advocate of the League of Nations and was one of the three founders of the National Security League, organized in 1915. In England, both as a publisher and an author, he was warmly regarded for his lifelong and fearless championship of the cause of Anglo-American friendship. Last January he announced the completion of a fund to establish a chair in American History at the University of London. The work of Major Putnam as a publicist was recognized later in life. Bowdoin College made him an honorary Master of Arts in 1894, and degree of Doctor of Letters was bestowed on him by the University of Pittsburgh in 1899, Columbia University in 1912, and by Oxford University in 1926.

Major Putnam was a member of the Sons of the Revolution, Century Association, Authors Club and City Club, all of New York, and the Cobden, Savile and Athenaeum of London. He was the author of a series of books on history and autobiographical works and a contributor to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, *Mason and Lalor's Political Encyclopedia*, and *International Encyclopedia*. His books include: *Authors and Publishers*, *Question of Copyright*, *Authors and their Public in Ancient Times*, *Books and their Makers in the Middle Ages*, *Abraham Lincoln—the People's Leader in the Struggle for National Existence*, *Memories of my Youth*, *Some Memories of the Civil War*.

On July 7, 1869, he married Miss Rebecca Kettell Shepard of Boston, who died in 1895. In 1899 he married Miss Emily James Smith, author and educator and one time dean of Barnard College. Besides his wife he is survived by one son—Palmer Cosslett Putnam; four daughters—Bertha A. and Ethel F. Putnam, Mrs. Joseph Lindon Smith and Mrs. Robert Falconer; three sisters—

Edith G. and Ruth Putnam and Mrs. R. W. S. Pinhey; and three brothers—Irving, Herbert and Kingman Putnam.

MRS. MIRIAM KIPP ROCKWELL, widow of George H. Rockwell, died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. W. P. Harmon, in Ticonderoga, N. Y., December 27, 1929. She had been in failing health for several months.

Mrs. Rockwell was born in Glens Falls, February 16, 1847, the daughter of Ruliff and Maria (Yates) Kipp. Most of her life had been spent in Glens Falls and Luzerne. She was a member of the Woman's Civic Club of Glens Falls.

On May 12, 1869, she married Mr. George H. Rockwell, who died July 12, 1925. She is survived by two daughters, Mrs. W. P. Harmon of Ticonderoga and Mrs. Elizabeth R. Winsor of Luzerne.

REV. MELANCTHON WOOLSEY STRYKER, D.D., LL.D., a former president of Hamilton College, died at his home in Rome, N. Y., December 6, 1929, after an illness of many months.

He was born in Vernon, N. Y., January 7, 1851, the son of Rev. Isaac Pierson and Alida Livingston (Woolsey) Stryker. He prepared for college in the Academy at Rome and was graduated from Hamilton in 1872, and from the Auburn Theological Seminary in 1876. He received the degree of D.D. from Hamilton in 1889, LL.D. from Lafayette in 1892 and from Wesleyan in 1909, and L.H.D. from Hamilton in 1920.

After his ordination as a Presbyterian minister, he occupied pulpits at Auburn and Ithaca, N. Y., Holyoke, Mass., and Chicago, Ill. In 1892 he was made President of Hamilton College and served in that capacity until 1917 when he resigned. Although a believer in athletics, Dr. Stryker was a strong opponent of over-emphasis in sports at college, asserting that American universities were seeking "strange gods" in their efforts to become illustrious for the quality of their various teams. The college under his direction showed a marked enlargement in the curriculum and increase in the faculty.

After his resignation as President of Hamilton, he lived in retirement in the family homestead which was built on the site of old Fort Stanwix. A student of hymnology, he edited a number of hymnals. He also wrote and published several volumes of poetry. His works include English Bible Versions and Origins,

Outlines of Ethics, Complete Versing of the Psalms of Israel, Vesper Bells, Embers, and various books of sermons and addresses.

On September 27, 1876, he was married to Clara Elisabeth Goss of Auburn. Besides his wife he is survived by two sons—Lloyd P. Stryker of New York, and Goss L. Stryker of Baltimore, Md.; and three daughters—Mrs. W. T. Scarritt and Mrs. George W. Stevens, both of Rome, and Mrs. Elihu Root, Jr., of New York.

MRS. MARGARET HOLMES BURDICK TRUMBULL, widow of Sidney E. Trumbull, died at her home in Johnstown on June 21, 1929. She had been in failing health for over a year, and for the last six months had been confined to her bed.

Mrs. Trumbull was born in Johnstown, October 20, 1854, the daughter of Dr. Francis and Catherine May (Holmes) Burdick. Her father was one of the prominent physicians of that period. She attended the local schools and also the Temple Grove Seminary at Saratoga Springs. A charter member of the Johnstown Chapter, D. A. R., she had held every office in the local chapter. Her activities were not confined to her home city, however, and she was honored by election as State Treasurer of the D. A. R. She was also one of the charter members and organizers of the Aldine Society, the oldest literary society in the city, and a member of the Fortnightly Club. Mrs. Trumbull was a lifelong member of the St. Paul's Lutheran Church and had been a teacher in the Sunday School for a number of years. Her everyday life was an exemplification of a splendid Christian character, and her religious activities were a joy to herself and a beautiful example to others.

Deeply interested in the Willing Helpers Home for Women, she gave generously of her means and service to this institution, having been a member of the Board of Managers for a number of years. She was also a member of the Board of Managers of the Johnstown Historical Society and one of the trustees of the Johnstown Cemetery Association. A legion of friends and acquaintances in all walks of life mourn the passing of this beloved woman, whose pleasant manner radiated a kindly influence to all with whom she came in contact, while her unselfish nature, thoughtfulness of others and willingness to give of her time and efforts to any worthy project were admired by all who knew her.

On May 28, 1919, she was united in marriage to Sidney E. Trumbull, a well known paper box manufacturer of Johnstown. Mr. Trumbull died May 25, 1923. There are no immediate surviving relatives.

MAJOR ALBERT THEODORE WESTON, M.D., New York City, died February 21, 1929, at the hospital at Bayshore, L. I., after an illness of two weeks caused by pleuro-pneumonia.

Dr. Weston was born at Salem, Washington county, N. Y., October 8, 1860, the only son of Theodore Rice and Jane Ann (Atwood) Weston. He attended the Washington Academy at Salem, and Cornell University, and graduated from the New York University Medical College in 1882. He served for a time as an assistant physician at the Hospital for the Insane on Ward's Island; later he was appointed a coroner's physician and as such and as medical examiner he served the municipality for some thirty years.

As a youth, Dr. Weston possessed much mechanical ability and while connected with the coroner's office became familiar with various weapons, such as guns, pistols and revolvers, studying their mechanism and testing them out in every way. In time he became known as one of the principal authorities on gun-shot wounds and wrote a number of papers on the subject.

He joined the 22nd regiment of the National Guard while a young man and retained his connection with the organization throughout his life. With a heritage from military ancestors who served in both the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, it was but natural that he was interested in all things military. He served during the Spanish-American War, going out to the Philippines, also on the Mexican border, and in the World War as assistant surgeon in the navy. He attained the rank of major in the army and received a number of decorations for service.

Dr. Weston was a member of the New York State and County Medical Societies, American Medical Association, Association of Military Surgeons, Veteran Corps of Artillery, Sons of the Revolution, Society of the War of 1812, and Military Order of Foreign Wars.

On February 27, 1890, he was married to Mrs. Melissa Ferguson, who survives him.

NOTICES AND REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Records of the Town of Hyde Park, Dutchess County. Edited by FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. (The Dutchess County Historical Society, Hyde Park, N. Y., 1928. Pp. 340.)

These records of the town of Hyde Park were published for two excellent reasons—first, “to preserve for future generations the local history” which might be lost if the original manuscript were destroyed; and secondly “to encourage other towns” to follow this praiseworthy example.

The records run from April 3, 1821, to November 4, 1875. Here are the minutes of the annual town meetings, the reports of the Board of Auditors, and the reports of the Commissioners of Highways. The “Records of Roads” go back to 1784 and continue to 1875.

These town records have a tremendously interesting human story to reveal. Hundreds of names of citizens of Hyde Park during the 90 years following the Revolution are given. One reads about supervisors, collectors, overseers of the poor, school and road commissioners, constables, fence viewers, pound masters, inspectors of the town meetings, town clerks, town sealers, town auditors, and town doctors. Indeed a study of town records like these clearly indicate that real government by the people in New York was found in the towns rather than in the counties and state.

The funds voted from year to year for the “support of the poor” is surprising. The ordinances relating to live stock were numerous. “Sheep shall not be lawful commoners.” Money was voted freely to supplement state aid for common schools. The building of fences was regulated. The building of bridges and care of roads was authorized. A premium of one dollar was offered for the killing of “a full grown Fox.” Bills were paid for labor, teaming, supplies, and damages. In 1872 the two town doctors were paid salaries of \$75 per year. And of course much attention was given to the laying out and construction of roads.

The second part of this volume covering 148 pages contains the local church records. An informing sketch of “the Stroudsburch Religious Society” from 1789, by the editor, is followed by the “Proceedings.” The list of subscribers for the first church

building is followed by the account of the erection of the edifice which for ten years was to "remain free and open to all good and well recommended preachers of every Christian Society." The list of "seat" holders is given for 1790. The records of this co-operative religious Society end in 1805.

Although the "Dutch Church" was organized in 1792 the minute books prior to 1813 are lost. The minutes from 1813 to 1833 are summarized. Then follows the roll of ministers from 1809 to 1919; the roll of church officers from 1813 to 1902; the list of members from 1792 to 1877; the marriages from 1817 to 1877; the baptisms from 1810 to 1877; and the deaths from 1814 to 1853.

There is a brief note on the Catholic Church. The meager records of the Baptist Society run from 1844 to 1913. The materials on the Methodist Church cover the period from 1832 to 1875 and include marriages, probationers, a list of members, and baptisms. The records of the Episcopal Church from 1811 to 1912, include the rectors, baptisms, marriages, confirmations and communicants.

In editing and publishing these *Records of the Town of Hyde Park*, Governor Roosevelt has set an inspiring example to other communities in New York State.

A. C. F.

Johnson of the Mohawks: A Biography of Sir William Johnson, Irish Immigrant, Mohawk War Chief, American Soldier, Empire Builder. By ARTHUR POUND and DR. RICHARD E. DAY. (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1930. Pp. 556. \$5.)

William L. Stone, Jr., was the first historian to attempt to evaluate the career of Sir William Johnson. His work was published at the close of the Civil War—65 years ago. Griffis' and Buell's shorter biographies appeared in 1891 and 1903 respectively, but were brief popular accounts. Stone's work at the time of its publication was scholarly and sympathetic, but the discovery of so much new source material in recent years has made a new interpretation of the great Indian Superintendent, diplomat, warrior, and empire builder, necessary.

The authors of this latest biography are admirably qualified for the task. Arthur Pound, well-known for his literary and edi-

torial work, has buried himself for several years in Johnsoniana. Dr. Day has devoted the greater part of his life studying and editing the *Sir William Johnson Papers*. Together they have produced a book that is well-balanced, admirably organized, based on a discriminating use of the sources, and written with a keen understanding of the man, his times and his problems. As a result the reader not only follows the man in all his countless human relationships but also understands what is more important—the ideals, motives, whims and purposes which really moulded his remarkable career.

One finds in this volume an adequate explanation of why the North American continent above Mexico is English rather than French, and why the United States stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Indeed it may be said that the greatest contribution of the book is the explanation of how Sir William Johnson by his vision and influence carved for British occupation the Mid-Western Empire in the international race for the possession of the New World.

It is gratifying to read a volume which shows on every page that it is the product of open minds showing no hesitancy in discarding erroneous traditions, setting forth new explanations based on evidence, and seeking only the truth wherever it leads. As a result we have a new but a true William Johnson revealed in his weaknesses and his strength, in his surrender to frontier liberties and his growth under frontier trials, and in his matchless leadership among the redskin and the paleface. His was a creative, commanding personality feared by foes, trusted by friends, and respected by statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic. In a sense he typified colonial America. Coming to the New World as a poor Irish lad, he took advantage of every opportunity, opened up chances for himself, fulfilled every trust, and emerged a man of wealth, power and honor.

This is a biography which every citizen of New York should read. Its style is witty, popular, scholarly, forceful, discerning, informing and dramatic. It portrays the civilization and psychology of the Iroquois, the century of clash between the French and the English, and shows why New York was the pivotal province on the seaboard and the gateway to the interior of the continent. It pictures the frontier life of the whites, explains British success

in dealing with the Indians, and makes one feel Sir William's dominant voice in all these epoch-making events. His stride is that of a giant. He "becomes a statesman without ever seeming to become too well aware of it." He was not a "school-boy hero" because "blithely he philandered" and took "coppery women" to wife in defiance alike of the color line and Holy Writ. But he loved his wives and cared for his children.

Other men and women stalk across the stage with Sir William Johnson—military leaders like Abercromby, Amherst, Bouquet, Braddock, Bradstreet, the Butlers, Loudon, Howe, Lydius, Lyman, Montcalm, Rogers, Shirley and Joncaire; Indian chiefs like Abraham, Brant, Bunt and Hendrick; colonials like Adair, Alexander, Claus, Croghan, Franklin and Wraxell; officials like Penn, Andros, Burnet, Clarke, Colden, Cornbury, DeLancey and Pownall; and ministers like Auchmuty, Barclay, Barton and Wheelock.

Numerous letters and documents are quoted in the text. The references to authorities and notes cover 28 pages. Addenda takes 45 pages. The bibliography is discriminating. The index is full and useful. The illustrations and maps have been selected with unusual care. Altogether this is a solid, readable and illuminating biography which bids fair to run through many editions and to assist greatly in sustaining the awakened interest in New York colonial history.

A. C. F.

Dictionary of American Biography. Edited by ALLEN JOHNSON. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1928— Vol. I pp. 660, Vol. II pp. 613, Vol. III pp. 618. \$12.50 a vol.)

Realizing the need of an authoritative dictionary of American Biography, the American Council of Learned Societies formulated plans for such a work. Mr. Adolph S. Ochs, owner of the *New York Times*, agreed to underwrite the enterprise for half a million dollars. Mr. Allen Johnson was selected as editor with headquarters in Washington. It was decided to exclude all living persons and to include only those persons "who have made some significant contribution to American life." A large number of American scholars was invited to collaborate in writing the account of men and women selected with the utmost care. Contributors

base their articles on original sources and have sought to give the personality and achievements of the subjects. An effort has been made "to re-create and re-interpret the lives of the makers of American life and culture."

Volume I appeared in 1928, Volume II in 1929 and Volume III in 1930. Nearly 300 American scholars wrote the biographical sketches in Volume I which includes names from Cleveland Abbe, the astronomer who was born and educated in New York City, to Maurice Barrymore, who came to America in 1875 and gained fame in New York and elsewhere as an actor. Out of the several hundred biographies contained in this initial volume it is surprising to see how many of them are identified with the Empire State by birth, residence or professional activity. For instance in the first 250 pages more than 50 of the subjects are related in some way to New York State. About the same proportion holds for Volumes II and III. Thus it will be seen that this work is of special value to our citizens, and it should have a wide distribution among our schools, colleges, libraries, offices and homes. Volume II carries the names to John Brazer and Volume III to Zachariah Chandler.

Every article has been written by a scholar, and is based on a study of unprinted and printed sources and secondary accounts. The utmost care has been taken to make the biographies accurate and all of them are signed. The bibliographies after each sketch will be of much value to those who wish to make a more extensive study. Naturally in a work of this kind there is considerable variation in both style and merit in the various accounts; but the first three volumes are exceptionally well done. Thus far the reviewer has discovered no New York names of consequence omitted. On the contrary there are many included about whom little is known. The list includes painters, sculptors, poets, theatrical organizers, ministers, lawyers, statesmen, dentists, physicians, scientists, singers, manufacturers, editors, missionaries, journalists, military leaders, merchants, inventors, authors, Indian traders, college presidents, educators, diplomats, philologists, rabbis, mathematicians, astronomers, farmers, actors, theatrical managers, explorers, architects, engineers, mechanics, historians, capitalists, judges, and others. Altogether the three volumes contain 2033 memoirs. Among the best articles are:

"John Brown" by Allen Johnson and "William Cullen Bryant" by Allan Nevins. When completed the *Dictionary of American Biography* will be the most useful publication in America during recent years. The wise will accept the publishers' introductory price because the cost is certain to increase later on.

A. C. F.

New York in the American Revolution. By WILBUR C. ABBOTT. Illustrations selected by Victor H. Paltsits. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1929. Pp. xiii, 302. \$3.50.)

The title of this book would have been more accurate if it had read *New York City in the American Revolution*. The period covered is from the beginning of the Stamp Act troubles through the evacuation of the city by the British in 1783, and the events of those years and the forces at work are presented in most readable fashion. Nowhere is there a better popular account of the three political parties (the Sons of Liberty, the moderates and the conservatives), and of the shifting of power between the parties, with the consequent changes in the affiliations of individuals, during the years before the Declaration of Independence. The events leading to the definite break with Great Britain and the early stages of the armed conflict are followed by an account of Howe's capture of the city in 1776 and its history under British occupation for the next seven years. The real efforts of the British to govern justly and the difficulties of the radical element in adjusting itself to military control are related in a fair and unbiassed manner, as are the steps by the British in the evacuation of the Tories, the transfer of property and supplies, and other measures preliminary to the actual evacuation of the military forces.

The general merits of the work are great, but careful reading reveals certain errors to which attention should be called. The proceedings of the Provincial Congress of 1775 and 1776 are confused (page 157); Schuyler was not "under Montgomery and Arnold" in the expedition against Canada on September 10, 1775 (page 159); the State Constitution was hardly "hastily accepted" (page 225); the Legislature did not flee to Livingston Manor near Albany after the burning of Kingston (page 231). The relations of the Committee of Safety and the Council of Safety to

the Provincial Congress have apparently been misunderstood and it is not recognized that they were in session only when the Congress (called the Convention after July 1776) stood adjourned. It would seem that the author has failed to use the *Journals of the Provincial Congress, Provincial Convention, Committee of Safety and Council of Safety of the State of New York, 1775-77* (2 vol., Albany, 1842).

The bibliography is quite full but fails to include the above work; mentions Force's *American Archives* only for the Minutes of the Committee of 51; lists volume 10 of the *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* but omits all reference to volumes 8 and 15; is confused about the editor of *New York in the Revolution* (pages 291 and 292); and fails to mention in any way works which according to the preface are of prime importance. The illustrations from contemporary prints are well selected and the book has an adequate index.

PETER NELSON

Dutch Houses in the Hudson Valley before 1776. By HELEN WILKINSON REYNOLDS. With an introduction by Franklin D. Roosevelt. Photography by Margaret De M. Brown. Prepared under the auspices of the Holland Society of New York. (Payson and Clarke Ltd., New York, 1929. Pp. 468.)

This beautifully printed quarto volume fully justifies the expectations with which it had been awaited by those who knew of its preparation. In his introduction to this volume, Governor Roosevelt well expresses an opinion that will be shared by many readers:

That which has interested me in this survey even more than the collection of architectural data has been the information as to the manners and customs of the settlers of the valley of the Hudson which has been afforded by an examination of the houses the people lived in. We are prone to think of our forebears as living ideal lives of rural comfort in large houses of many rooms, with high ceilings and abundantly furnished, but one fact that stands out clearly in the text and in the illustrations of this book is that the mode of life of the first settlers of New Netherland and of their immediate descendants were extremely simple, a statement which is true not only of the smaller landowners but of many of the patentees of large grants. From high to low their lives were the lives of pioneers, lives of hardship, of privation and often of danger. Roads

were few and rough, household belongings modest, and the dwelling that contained more than four rooms was an exception.

I have been impressed also by a thought that comes from consideration of the sites of these houses. In the choice of their locations the houses seem to represent a point of view on the part of their builders unlike that held in some other parts of the country, one with less of the community and village influence that is evident in New England, and more of individual independence; for so often these houses of the Hudson valley are found in cozy places, back from the highway, down below a hill, far from a neighbor, snuggling as it were into a perfect landscape-setting and happy in their isolation.

The first chapter bears the same title as the book and deals in a thoroughly enlightening manner with background, the people, slaves, land-titles, dug-outs, log and board cabins, location of houses, building materials, architectural details, outbuildings, stone walls, plantings, river and road, traditions and survivals. These subjects are illustrated by views of typical sites and of the country of the Hudson valley, and of such building details as arch-support, lintel-stone, corner-stone and frame-construction.

Then follow four chapters dealing with the houses of Albany (including Columbia, Rensselaer, Greene and Schenectady), Ulster, Westchester and Dutchess counties. In each case, after a general statement applicable to the entire area covered by the chapter, there is a "list of houses." In this list each of the houses illustrated is treated fully and described as to location, history, occupants, building materials, size, architectural details, later additions, and present condition—the descriptive note frequently running to several pages. Many houses are included in the list in addition to those illustrated and references given to printed sources of information when available.

The illustrations are a marked feature of the book and include 150 most excellently rendered full-page photographic reproductions besides the frontispiece and some half dozen beautiful little vignettes. A full index of twenty pages makes the material useful from various points of view and is supplemented by a key to map-numbers and a folded map of the Hudson valley with the sites numbered. The reader should note that the map-numbers are not the same as the plate-numbers of the illustrations. A few typographical errors have been noted but none that affect the value of

the study. Paper and printing help to make this a very pleasing volume. The author and the Holland Society are to be congratulated on the production of a work of thorough scholarship and accuracy, based on years of devoted study, and yet eminently readable, which is of great and permanent value to the history of the State.

PETER NELSON

Anne Hutchinson and Other Papers. (Westchester County Historical Society, Publications, volume VII.) Ed. by WILLIAM S. HADAWAY. (Published for Westchester County by the Society, White Plains, 1929. Pp. vii, 114, illus. and maps.)

The papers in this volume range in time from the earliest colonial period to the era of modern transportation. "Anne Hutchinson's Refuge in the Wilderness" is by Otto Hufeland, who has combined with a critical study of the documents his professional engineering knowledge of the territory and its surveys. It is the result of efforts of many years to piece together the facts gathered from brief and contradictory sources. The settlement of Mrs. Hutchinson was made in 1642 and was entirely destroyed in the Indian massacre of the following year. The site of the house was identified by Bolton (1848) with Split Rock in the town of Pelham and this location has been generally accepted by later writers. Mr. Hufeland locates it some distance to the southwest in the town of Eastchester and bases his conclusion on the story of James Sands as given in Niles' History of the Indian and French Wars; the Pell grant of 1664 to the "ten families" to settle in Eastchester at "Hutchinson's, that is where the house stood"; the Eastchester Covenant of 1665 reciting the settlement between Hutchinson Brook and another "where the house was"; Nicolls' grant for this land referring to Hutchinson's River, Hutchinson's Meadows and Hutchinson's Brook; and two original Eastchester maps of 1708, reproduced in facsimile. The same conclusions as to this site were reached by Lemuel A. Welles in an article in the *N.Y. Genealogical and Biographical Record*, April 1929.

"The Burning of the Village of White Plains on November 5th, 1776" is by the same author and was read before the Society in 1923. The map of "White Plains in 1776" is really of 1797 as

shown by the reviewer in another article of the number of the periodical cited above. Mr. Hufeland shows clearly the disorganized state of the country in 1776 and the disobedience rampant in the army.

"Early Railroads in Westchester County" by Edward Hungerford deals with a more recent topic and treats briefly of the various roads and the development of the commuter traffic.

The last papers in this volume arose out of the sesquicentennial observances of 1776 and comprise the text of the pageant of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, held at White Plains, July 9, 1926, and that of the playlet, "Washington at White Plains", arranged by B. D. Hakes and enacted in the High School auditorium on the 150th anniversary of the Battle of White Plains.

PETER NELSON

Unafraid: a Life of Anne Hutchinson. By WINNIFRED KING RUGG. (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston and New York, 1930. Pp. xiii, 263. \$3.50.)

Anne Hutchinson: a Biography. By EDITH CURTIS. With an introduction by M. A. DeWolfe Howe. (Washburn & Thomas, Cambridge, 1930. Pp. 122. \$2.50)

The first of the above new biographies of Mrs. Hutchinson opens with a summary of the parentage and life in England of the subject of the book. Her life in Boston, the formation of the first woman's club in America, the religious and political battles in Massachusetts and Rhode Island are related in vivid fashion and compel the sympathy of the reader for the woman who lived several centuries ahead of her time in a man-made and man-ruled world. The points at issue in the antinomian controversy are at best hard to grasp; but the trial and banishment are no credit to the Puritans of that day. Special interest for us attaches to the last few months of her life which were spent in New York. One wonders where the author finds authority for the statement that the Hutchinson company stopped at Long Island and established their home at Astoria, opposite Hell-Gate. If Weld is discredited as authority for Astoria as the site of the massacre, he can hardly be accepted as proving any settlement there. As to the identification of Split Rock with the Hutchinson home, attention is called to the article of Mr. Hufeland, noted on an earlier page of this number.

Mrs. Curtis, a Rhode Islander transplanted to Boston and thus reversing Mrs. Hutchinson's career, tells the story with a feminine sympathy for its subject—though we are not sure that Anne Hutchinson, in her intellectual strength and independence, would have thought this necessary or been pleased with it. The general outlines of the story seem no different from the fuller life mentioned above. The New York home of the Hutchinson colony is here placed at Hell-Gate, "a place on Manhattan"—but this is of course a mere slip, not to be treated as a considered judgment. In appendices the author gives extracts from Winthrop's Journal regarding the prevalent belief in omens and portents, notes on Indian attacks, the twenty-nine errors held by Mistress Hutchinson cited from a Short Story, and again Extracts from Winthrop's Journal regarding the miscarriages of Mistress Anne Hutchinson and Mary Dyer.

PETER NELSON

History of the Town of Tonawanda, Erie County, New York, 1805-1930. By FREDERICK S. PARKHURST, Ph.D., Local Historian, Town of Tonawanda and Village of Kenmore. (Author, Kenmore, N. Y., 1930. Pp. xiv, 126, illus., map.)

The history of the Niagara frontier goes back three centuries and is of intense and romantic interest; but it has been well told by Doctor Severance and others. In this modest volume, Doctor Parkhurst has only the most casual reference to the Indian and French periods and keeps his story within the boundaries of the town of Tonawanda, lying on the Niagara River between the city of Buffalo and Tonawanda Creek, exclusive of the city of Tonawanda organized in 1903.

The earliest settlement in 1805, the events of the War of 1812, the influence of the Erie Canal are narrated and tribute paid to the hardy pioneers struggling to establish homes and schools and churches. If the old feudal custom of conveying land titles "by taking some of the soil and handing it to the purchaser" was actually in use (page 9), it would have been interesting to know more of the details of such sales. Was this simply incidental to the formal deed? If not, how was such transfer recorded by the county clerk? The statement that "sometimes the deed was torn in two, the seller and purchaser each retaining a part" and that

"in case of dispute, ownership was proven by matching the two pieces" is also open to serious question. The reference is presumably to the making of deeds and leases in duplicate on a single parchment or sheet of paper and separating the two copies by an irregular cut, each party retaining a *complete* copy of the original *indenture*.

An interesting chapter is that on "Some Old Farms of Tonawanda," showing the changes in ownership and character of occupancy that have taken place. The last chapters deal with the recent history—Kenmore, incorporated as village in 1899, now with an estimated population of 14,000, as of 1928; the industrial development along the Niagara River; the proposals for more efficient government and frontier planning. The book is a valuable contribution to local history, with illustrations and a map, well indexed, a credit to the author and to the town.

P. N.

An Epoch and a Man: Martin Van Buren and his Times. By DENIS TILDEN LYNCH. (Horace Liveright, New York, 1930. Pp. 566. \$5.)

This is a timely book. No serious attempt to explain the interesting career of New York's first President has been made since 1888 when Shepard wrote his *Martin Van Buren* in the American Statesman Series. The year 1932 will mark the sesquicentennial of Van Buren's birth, and 1936 will commemorate the 100th anniversary of his election as President.

The author has evidently read widely and sets forth a vast fund of information. One learns of the coming of the first Van Buren to New York in 1631 as a tenant farmer of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer. Martin Van Buren was the third child of a poor tavern keeper at Kinderhook born Dec. 5, 1782. He was a precocious child in school and a "great talker". His schooling ended at the age of fourteen, when he entered the law office of Francis Silvester, an ardent Federalist. Young Van Buren was already a stubborn Republican. At eighteen he was active in local politics. In 1801 he went to New York City to continue his law studies and after a hard struggle with poverty was admitted to the bar. There he made friends with Aaron Burr, the Clintons, Livingstons and others. Just of age, a young man with a shock of waving

yellow hair, a smiling face, and only five feet six inches tall, he now returned to Kinderhook to begin his career as a lawyer and statesman. New York has never produced a man who was more in the public eye. From the time he was appointed surrogate of Columbia county in 1808 until he left the Presidency in 1841 he was seldom out of office. He was state Senator, Attorney General, Governor, Regent, Secretary of State, Minister to England, Vice-President and President. For more than two generations he was a dominant member of his party in New York and the nation. He deserves to rank with Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Tilden and Wilson as a creator of the Democratic party. With the passing of time he becomes greater in retrospect as a constructive statesman.

In attempting to describe an epoch as well as a man the writer attempts too much in a small compass. His subject at times is completely lost in the happenings of the nation and Europe. Many unrelated details might have been omitted with advantage. At times the organization of materials is poor and gives evidence of haste and later insertions. Now and then a paragraph has no unity of content. The author is fond of using words like "argot", "amorphous", and "servilocracy". The author would have profited greatly by the guidance of Donovan's *Barnburners*. Perhaps the greatest defect of the book is the absence of citations to authorities. But it is a readable book, absorbing in style, and informing without any attempt at hero worship.

A. C. F.

A Narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen's Captivity containing his Voyages and Travels. Edited by JOHN PELL. (Printed for the Fort Ticonderoga Museum by Richard W. Ellis: The Georgian Press, Westport, Conn., 1930. Pp. 134.)

Mr. Stephen H. P. Pell, Director of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, and his gifted son, John Pell, deserve the thanks of all friends of American history for making accessible through their publications the valuable source materials assembled at great expense in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum. The *Narrative* of Ethan Allen covering the three important years from 1775 to 1778 and first printed early in 1779 is a valuable source on Revolutionary history in the Lake Champlain area.

The introductory note by the editor gives a brief sketch of the life of Ethan Allen, describes the first publication of the *Narrative* and discusses the credibility of the pamphlet. He is disposed to accept as authentic Allen's improvised phrase, "In the Name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," which some historians have questioned.

The *Narrative* is a document of absorbing human interest. It opens with a vivid account of the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, and of the seizure of Crown Point by Warner. Arnold is not mentioned until the expedition sent out by water to take the British sloop-of-war at St. Johns is described. For the success of that enterprise Arnold is given full credit. Allen fully appreciated the significance of these triumphs and was sorely aggrieved when the Patriots permitted the English to recapture Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Lake Champlain.

A vivid picture is drawn of the futile effort to capture Montreal at which time Allen was taken a prisoner of war, harshly treated, and told that he was to be sent to London to be hanged as a rebel. He was still held a prisoner at Quebec when Arnold and Montgomery made the unsuccessful but gallant attempt to capture that stronghold. Then he sailed for England with "a junto of Tories" among whom were Col. Guy Johnson and Col. Daniel Claus. After 40 days of suffering Allen was landed at Falmouth, wearing a Canadian dress of a short fawn skin jacket, double-breasted, an under vest and breeches of sagathy, worsted stockings, a plain shirt, a decent pair of shoes and a red worsted cap. Allen states that his case was discussed in Parliament and bets were laid in London that he would be executed. Allen then resorted to a "stratgem". He wrote a letter ostensibly to the Continental Congress but in reality for British consumption in which he described his harsh treatment and expressed his political views. As intended by this shrewd Yankee the letter was sent to Lord North. Just what the result was is not clear but at any rate early in January, 1776, he was sent back to America and landed at Halifax. After some time he was transferred to New York where he was admitted to parole and finally exchanged in 1778. The account is one of the most realistic pictures we have of the treatment of prisoners by the British. An index of names would add to the usefulness of the book.

A. C. F.

George Washington: The Savior of the States, 1777-1781. By RUPERT HUGHES. (William Morrow & Co., New York, 1930. Pp. 820. \$5.)

This is Volume III of the biography of Washington which has aroused an acrimonious discussion between those who resent the publication of any fact derogatory to our first great President and scholars like Worthington C. Ford, James Truslow Adams and Allan Nevins who believe that a humanized Washington will only increase our admiration for his life and work.

In the midst of our sesquicentennial observances this volume covering four years of the War of Independence is a timely publication. The author regards Washington, above all others, as responsible for the triumph of the American cause, and says: "The more I study Washington, the more I marvel at his greatness and patience and his genius." If Washington is pictured as "incessantly guessing wrong, making innumerable false prophesies, countless mistakes, losing his temper, regaining it, being coerced into defeats and dragged away from them," still he stands out head and shoulders above most of his contemporaries. His enemies in the army and in Congress are pointed out and lashed unmercifully. Many of the popular misconceptions of Washington are exploded with documentary proofs. The corruption, treachery and cowardice as well as the courage, self-sacrifice and patriotism of the Revolution are shown.

Rather scant attention is given to the Burgoyne Campaign and the Battle of Saratoga as compared with the engagements at Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth, because the author believes that Washington had no command over the Northern department of the army. But in the chapter on "Wars within the War" considerable notice is given of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign and some of the new materials and interpretations which appeared last year are utilized. The chapter which will probably cause the loudest outcry is XXV which answers in the negative the question "Did Washington Pray at Valley Forge?" Perhaps the most interesting one is XLVI on "Hamilton and His Mother Humiliate Him."

A. C. F.

Forty Fruitful Years. By REV. FREDERICK W. BETTS, D.D.
(The Murray Press, Boston, Mass. Pp. 385.)

The author of this book is a native son of New York who for forty years has been the progressive pastor of the First Universalist Church at Syracuse, N. Y. In recounting his own personal experiences and reflections, he gives a penetrating analysis of the region and age in which he lived. Interpretation rather than a mere record of fact is the purpose of the volume. It is the type of reflective literature that will be used by the historian five hundred years from today to understand the civilization of our period—its ideas, its feelings, its hopes and its fears. The host of friends of Dr. Betts will read *Forty Fruitful Years* with the keenest enjoyment, and others will find it stimulating and helpful.

A. C. F.

The Lineage of Lincoln. By WILLIAM E. BARTON. (The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1929. Pp. 419.)

This book will be read with profit by those persons who wish to know about Lincoln's ancestral background. It traces in an authoritative manner the history of the family from England to New England and thence by various moves to Illinois.

At Hingham, England, one may see a bust of Lincoln with this inscription underneath: "In this Parish for many generations lived the Lincolns, ancestors of Abraham Lincoln, to whom, greatest of that lineage, many citizens of the United States have erected this Memorial, in the hope that for all ages between that land and this land and for all lands, there shall be malice toward none with charity for all."

The immigrant forefather of Lincoln was Samuel Lincoln, who sailed for the New World on April 8, 1637, and on June 20th arrived at Salem, New England, with his wife, Martha. With him began the line of American Lincolns which in the seventh generation produced Abraham Lincoln. Samuel died in 1690 at the age of 71, father of 11 children.

Mordecai Loncoln, third son of Samuel, who was born at Hingham, Mass., in 1657 and died in Scituate, Mass., in 1727, perpetuated the line from which Abraham Lincoln sprang.

Mordecai Lincoln's son, Mordecai, was the third to continue this branch. Born in Massachusetts in 1686, he moved first to New Jersey and then settled in Berks county, Pa., where he died in 1736.

John Lincoln, the fourth continuator, was born in Pennsylvania but moved to Virginia, where he died in 1788.

His son, Abraham Lincoln, born in Virginia in 1744, moved westward into Kentucky, where he died in 1786 as the fifth progenitor, and grandfather of the President.

Thomas Lincoln, son of Abraham, born in Virginia in 1778, moved into Kentucky and then on to Illinois, where he died in 1851. He was the sixth to perpetuate this stem of the Lincoln family and was the father of the President.

From this list it will be noticed that the Lincolns were continually on the move, first southward from New England through New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland to Virginia, and then westward to Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana to Illinois.

The mother of Abraham Lincoln was Nancy Hanks. Thomas Hanks, founder of the family in America, emigrated from England directly to Virginia about 1644. His son, William, continued the second generation, and his son, John Hanks, the third.

The fourth generation was perpetuated by Joseph Hanks, who died in Kentucky in 1793, and was the great grandfather of President Lincoln. He married Ann Lee. Their daughter Lucy, was the mother of Nancy Hanks, who married Thomas Lincoln and was the mother of the sixteenth President.

From this sketch it will be observed that Lincoln sprang from two early American families who belonged to the common people whom he loved and served.

A. C. F.

The Rochester Historical Society. Publication Fund Series. Vol. VII. Edited by EDWARD R. FOREMAN. (The Society, Rochester, N. Y., 1929. Pp. 372.)

An awakened and constructive civic pride in any community may be measured by the interest of its citizens in its history. Measured by this standard, Rochester is one of the most wide-awake and progressive cities in the State. Credit for this historical interest is due in large measure to Charles H. Wiltsie, President

of the Rochester Historical Society, and to Edward R. Foreman, City Historian. Among the evidences of the alert spirit of Rochester is the appearance each year of a well-printed and ably edited volume. This year's output contains about twenty articles and addresses. Among them are these of unusual interest—"Historical Backgrounds of Rochester Charter Law" by Edward R. Foreman; "The Iroquois in the Revolution" by George H. Harris; "The Indian Interpretation of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign" by Arthur C. Parker; and "The True Story of Mary Jemison" by Isabel Ayrault. The dozen "Historiettes" by the editor are replete with interest. One cannot commend too highly the excellent index of 25 pages, and the valuable illustrations.

The Tercentenary Years: Reformed Church in America, 1628-1928. By EDGAR FRANKLIN ROMIG. (The Reformed Church. New York, 1929. Pp. 542.)

This volume carries out the order of the General Synod of the Reformed Church of America in 1928 that a report of the Tercentenary Commission be published. In twenty chapters the editor has carried out this project. Much historial information is included and numerous documents have been reprinted. The various commemorative programs in America and abroad are given in full together with the sermons and addresses. The full text of the Tercentenary Pageant is printed. Numerous maps and illustrations add vividness to the record. A valuable index completes the volume.

Johan Peter Wagner (1687-1750): Mohawk Valley Pioneer and His Descendants. By WM. P. WEBSTER and HORTENSE WAGNER GREEN. (The Enterprise and News, St. Johnsville, N. Y., 1929. Pp. 32.)

Gathered together under one cover are the separate articles about the Wagners, which appeared from time to time in the *Enterprise and News*. Those persons who are interested in this and allied families will welcome the appearance of this booklet.

All in the Family. By THEODORE ROOSEVELT. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1929. Pp. 189.)

This little volume is a series of intimate talks by the son of the President about the family, the homelife, the happenings in Sagamore at the dining table, the treasures and trophies in the house, the pets of the household, outdoor recreations and sports, and the methods of celebrating holidays—particularly Christmas, Easter and Fourth of July. The book closes with a chapter on "Ethics" and another on education.

Journal of the Trustees of the Freeholders and Commonalty of East Hampton Town, 1772-1807. Edited by H. D. SLEIGHT. (Privately printed by the Town, 1927. Pp. 520.)

The Trustees' Records of East Hampton, L. I., for the 35 years from 1772 to 1807 cover 108 pages of this volume. The Introduction of 73 pages gives a general historical interpretation of the minutes and adds considerable new material. The Addendum covering 335 pages contains a mass of miscellaneous historical data on a great variety of topics. John Howard Payne's "Characteristics of East Hampton" (p. 194-209) is included; also John Lyon Gardiner's "Notes and Observations". Considerable valuable genealogical data is given. The index requires 13 pages.

A. C. F.

The Capture of Major André. By EDGAR MAYHEW BACON. (Privately printed Tarrytown, N. Y., 1930. Pp. 14. Price 25c.)

In preparation for the sesquicentennial of the capture of Major André at Tarrytown, Local Historian Bacon wrote this exceedingly interesting narrative. It is based on a study of the sources and is authoritative. Whatever Mr. Bacon does is well done. Those who are interested in this important event in American history should write to Mr. Bacon for a copy of his enlightening pamphlet.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

PERSONALS

The *Journal* of the Board of Regents for January 16, 1930, contains the addresses by Chancellor Lord and Commissioner Grover on Regent William P. Baker and on Regent Dr. Albert Vander Veer. Dr. Vander Veer bequeathed to the University of the State of New York the sum of \$5,000 for the benefit of employees in the State Department of Education who are deemed worthy of help on account of illness or accident.

Our coworker in the field of history, Nelson Greene, has relinquished the editorship of the *Fort Plain Standard*. He is now associated with the S. J. Clarke Publishing Co. of Chicago in the preparation of a history of the Hudson Valley. Under Mr. Greene's guidance such a work will be dependable and comprehensive.

Dr. A. Everett Peterson, who has done so much excellent work in the field of New York City local history, has recently been appointed Assistant Secretary of the Municipal Art Commission in place of Dr. Edward H. Hall. Dr. Peterson edited the "Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1784-1831" and has written and edited many other works.

It is gratifying to announce to his many friends that our distinguished member, Dr. D. Havelock Fisher, whose pen has been so fruitful in years gone by, is recovering from a lingering illness. Let us hope that there are many profitable years ahead of him.

Mr. Eugene B. Bowen of Cheshire, Mass., has won the gratitude of New York by heading a movement to appropriate funds for a monument to be erected on Bennington Battlefield. The sum of \$1000 has been appropriated for this purpose and the monument will be erected this summer.

Mr. Orra Eugene Monnette, one of our members, who lives in Los Angeles, Cal., takes a deep interest in New York history. A banker by profession, he is a genealogist for pleasure. More than 6,000 volumes on local history and genealogy are in his private collection.

Katherine Sears Jackman of Arcade, N. Y., is interested in copying family portraits and has done considerable work for various museums and private individuals.

Frances Dorrance, of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission is engaged in the collection of unprinted source materials for a sesquicentennial history of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779.

Dr. Thomas E. Finegan, First Vice-President of the New York State Historical Association, spent a portion of the early spring in a hospital at Rochester. His many friends will be glad to learn of his complete recovery.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND CLUBS

Members of the New York State Historical Association should make note of the fact that the annual meeting in 1930 will be held in historic Newburgh. The Association has never before met in that city. It has a most interesting and important historical background and is closely connected with Washington and his associated military leaders. In addition Newburgh is the center of a large number of sites, buildings and events of historic significance. The hotels are convenient and ample for our needs, President Dixon Ryan Fox, Mr. Raphael A. Weed, president of the Historical Society of Newburgh Bay and the Highlands, and Dr. A. C. Flick, State Historian, are arranging an exceptional program of speakers and excursions. Let us all endeavor to make this annual conference the best one ever held both in attendance and in interest.

The ninth volume of the PROCEEDINGS of this Association which contains the record of the Mount Vernon meeting in 1909 should be of special interest to our membership during this year when we are again planning to meet in that area. The contents include "Washington's Retreat through Westchester County" by John H. Brandow; "Some Sidelights on the Passing of New Netherland viewed from Westchester County" by Jacques W. Redway; "The Cowboys, the Skinners and the Neutral Ground" by Stephen Jenkins; "The Capture of André" by Marcius D. Raymond; "Relations of the Dutch and the Indians prior to the Massacre

of 1655" by T. Astley Atkins; "Anne Hutchinson, her Life in New York" by Mrs. Robert McVickar; "The Battle of Pell's Point or Pelham, October 18, 1776" by William Abbatt; "Old St. Paul's, Eastchester, Colonial and Revolutionary" by Clarence Stewart McClellan, Jr.; "Some Historic Houses of Westchester County" by Susanne Stone. Less intimately connected with the Lower Hudson but of value for the State at large is the article on "The Governors of New York" by Judge Charles Z. Lincoln, and the collection of papers relating to "The Ticonderoga Expedition of 1775" by Robert O. Bascom and James A. Holden. So large an edition of this volume was originally printed that the Association still has a considerable stock on hand and now offers them at *one dollar per copy, postage prepaid*.

The Greene County Historical Society was granted a provisional charter by the Regents on January 16, 1930. This society has prepared an attractive certificate of membership for its members, who are growing in number and active in good works.

On September 23, 1929, at Hastings-on-Hudson was organized a society of more than 25 members for the preservation of local places and objects of historic interest. This organization has held a number of meetings and is doing effective work. Rev. Charles E. Karston of Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., is president.

Westchester County Historical Society is inaugurating a searching survey for the purpose of locating manuscript materials relating to that region.

The income of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio was \$20,220, for 1929.

The Woman's Club of Chatham, N. Y., included in its program for the year a study of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779.

The Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association, of which Mrs. John Henry Hammond is president, is making the Roosevelt House a center of educational activity.

The Washington Commemorative Committee of Brooklyn has been holding a series of historical observances during the past winter.

The New York Historical Society during 1929 received by bequest \$100,000 from James B. Wilbur, \$10,000 from the residuary estate of Ellen King, \$25,000 from Francis Robert Schell, and \$4,000 from George A. Zabriskie. The general income of the Society for 1929 was \$82,700.

The Lyons (N. Y.) Civic Club has been active during the past year in erecting historic markers, in planning public parks, and in awakening interest in an historical museum. Mrs. William S. Johnson is president.

A Cape Vincent (N. Y.) Historical Club was organized January 27, 1930, with Mrs. Charles Armstrong president, Mrs. Karl Borland secretary, and Miss Mattie C. Parker curator. The Club holds regular meetings and has ambitious plans for the future.

The Huguenot Society of S. C. on April 10, 1930, presented an historic pageant at Charleston, S. C., to which the New York State Historical Association was asked to send representatives.

The Institute of Historical Research of the University of London has just issued its 8th *Annual Report* January 29, 1930, disclosing its valuable activities.

The Fort Crailo Association which has for its purpose the restoration of Fort Crailo as a public shrine, held its guest day exercises in the rooms of the Albany Historical and Art Society. Professor Dixon Ryan Fox of Columbia University gave an instructive address. Miss Mildred V. W. Patterson, the efficient president of the Association presided and reported on the work of the past year. The Legislature voted \$25,000 this year for restoration work but the appropriation was vetoed by Governor Roosevelt.

The American Historical Association held its annual meeting at Durham, N. C., Dec. 30, 31, 1929 and Jan. 1, 1930, which was attended by many New York historians, Dr. James Harvey Robinson of New York City presided and Prof. Evarts B. Greene of Columbia University was elected president for this year. Prof. Dixon Ryan Fox, Prof. Harry J. Carman, Prof. W. F. Craven, Dr. Holland Thompson and Dr. A. C. Flick took part in the program.

The American Irish Historical Society held its annual banquet January 25, 1930, at Hotel Astor, New York City. Among the speakers was former Justice Daniel F. Cohalan of the Supreme Court.

The Zonta Club of Albany has undertaken the work of erecting historic signs at all entrances to the city.

The Daughters of Columbia County Historical Society on April 7, 1930, selected a delegation of six members to attend the next annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association. This practice might well become more general.

The Empire State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution has opened headquarters in the Hotel Lexington for the use of members. The 41st annual meeting will occur on June 1-5, 1930, at Asbury Park, N. J.

The City History Club of New York City, founded by Mrs. Robert Abbe over 30 years ago, reports that during the past year talks were given to over 50,000 children. In addition to these addresses the Club arranges historic excursions, plays and pageants, debates, celebrations, etc. The *Annual Bulletin* may be obtained from the executive secretary, Mary F. Smart, 2 West 46th St., New York City.

The Colonial Dames in New York are issuing an English Map of New York City in 1778 for general distribution at cost among the schools.

The Huguenot Historical Association met March 27, 1930, to hear Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt discuss "Thomas Paine" and to listen to Otto Hufeland's paper on "A Methodist-Quaker Dispute in New Rochelle in 1808."

The American Council of Learned Societies held its 12th annual meeting on January 31, 1930, in New York City, and voted funds to assist various historians in research work.

The American Catholic Historical Association held its 10th annual meeting in Washington, December 27-28, 1929. Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia was elected first vice-president.

The prize of \$1000 offered by the National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of New York has been awarded to Richard B. Morris for his *Studies in American Law*.

The Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology founded May 6, 1929, plans to issue a bulletin and to hold regular meetings. A call has been sent out by Miss Frances Dorrance, secretary, and C. Hale Sipe, chairman, asking for members.

Wm. H. Arnold has been elected president of the Chemung County Historical Society, and is making a survey of Elmira for a suitable home for the society, and also for an historical Museum. The temporary quarters in the Public Library are inadequate to present needs. George Pickering is secretary.

The American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society is making an effort to raise funds for the erection of a monument to General Wayne on Stony Point.

PUBLICATIONS, ARTICLES, MANUSCRIPTS

The Columbia University Press announces the publication of John Bartlett Brebner's *New England's Outpost* which relates to Acadia before the conquest of Canada.

The *London Daily Telegraph* for February 2, 1929, printed an article by Edward W. Bok on "English Bells in America."

Joe L. Norris of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, states that the Grover Cleveland Papers are being bound in 600 volumes.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, January 1930, on p. 55 begins a paper on Mahlon Day Collins whose father, Peter Collins married Sarah Hall in 1825 at Brookfield, N. Y. Mahlon D. Collins was born in New York City August 13, 1838. The article is written by Hubert E. Collins who has lived for many years in New York City.

Social Science Abstracts summarizes all the publishing activities in America and abroad and serves a useful purpose.

In Waldo Lincoln's "Bibliography of American Cookery Books 1742-1860" printed in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian*

Society, New Series, vol. 39, Part 1, there are many items published in New York.

An address by Prof. B. W. Bond, Jr., on "The Northwest to Eastern Eyes" appears in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for July 1929.

Miss Ruth L. Higgins' paper on "The Expansion of New York during the Eighteenth Century" is noticed in the much delayed report of the 40th annual meeting (1925) of the American Historical Association which has just been printed.

"The Future Usefulness of Historical Societies" is discussed by Wm. H. Speer in the *New Jersey Historical Society Quarterly* for January, 1930. Dr. A. C. Flick's article on "The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779" is reprinted in the same issue.

An informing sketch of Madam Montour written by J. P. Penny, Jr., appears in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, January 1930. She was the grandmother of Catherine and Esther Montour.

Miss Mabel Gregory Walker of Columbus, Ohio, has prepared an excellent monograph on "The Fenian Movement" which contains much information relating to the history of New York State. The manuscript awaits publication.

The *Minute Man*, January 1930, contains an account of "The Pulaski Sesquicentennials."

The *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Westchester County Historical Society, January 1930, prints informing papers on "Old Mills along the Saw Mill River" by James Owen and "Negroes in the Revolutionary War" by Wm. S. Hadaway.

The *American Historical Review*, for January 1930, contains an article by Dixon Ryan Fox on "A Synthetic Principle in American Social History."

The *North Carolina Historical Review*, January 1930, presents an account of "North Carolinians at West Point before the Civil War" by G. M. McIver.

James Malcolm writes an informing account of "Roscoe Conklin Born 100 Years Ago" in *State Service* for January 1930.

The *Year Book* of the Dutchess County Historical Society, 1929, vol. 14, contains biographical sketches of Philip J. Schuyler by Dr. J. Wilson Poucher and of Peter De Labigarre by Helen Wilkinson Reynolds.

Dr. Alexander Fraser's 17th annual report of the Ontario Department of Public Records and Archives includes important land papers of Upper Canada for 1787-1791. The excellent index includes the names of a number of Loyalists from the State of New York.

The *Indiana Magazine of History*, for December 1929, presents a paper on "The Burr Conspiracy in Indiana" written by Isaac J. Cox.

Dodd, Mead & Co. announce a series of biographies on "American Political Leaders" including Tilden, Cleveland, Schurz and Roosevelt among others. Dr. Allan Nevins is the editor.

Museums is a new magazine edited by Ralph Clifton Smith and devoted to the work of popularizing museums.

The *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, for January and April 1930, is full of valuable papers and records among which are abstracts of wills of Dutchess county, records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New York City and of the Schaghticoke Dutch Reformed Church, tombstone inscriptions of Montgomery county, genealogies of the Harned and Grevenraedt families, and marriages by Rev. Jonathan Sweet in New York from 1812 to 1821 and in Illinois from 1823 to 1830. Among the book reviews is the *Journal of Judge Ezra Lookwood of Westchester county at Pound Ridge, N. Y.*, edited by Mrs. Edward S. Tomlinson.

Bulletin to the Schools for January 1 and 15, 1930, prints pictures and appreciations of the services of Regents Albert Vander Veer and William P. Baker.

The *Quarterly Bulletin* of the New York Historical Society, for January 1930, printed as a frontispiece a new portrait of Washington by John Ramage and an informing paper by John Hill Morgan on the life of that little-known artist. Mr. William L. Calver presents another of his scholarly articles on "Uniform Buttons of the American Army in the Revolution." Eight Revolutionary War letters from Wm. Douglas to his wife in 1776 are printed in this issue.

The *Bulletin* of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, January 1930, is devoted to Ethan Allen, and "John Brown's Dash for Ticonderoga" by Robert T. Pell. Edmund Munro's letter to his wife in 1776 from Ticonderoga is printed.

Charles D. Bean has issued a 40 page pamphlet entitled *The S. A. R. and the Sesquicentennial* which is well illustrated and gives a summary of the activities of the Society during the year 1929. There is a full account of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign Sesquicentennial.

A "History of Annsville, N. Y." by Florence McElroy Simon was printed in the *Daily Sentinel*, Rome, N. Y., during January and February 1930. This is an excellent example of what should be done in every locality.

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for April 1930 contains obituaries of Wm. Gilbert Davies who died at Tuxedo Park, N. Y., July 26, 1910; Mrs. Cora Talmadge Woodward, born in Baldwinsville, N. Y., August 10, 1859; Abram Parsons Sherrill, born at Pike, N. Y., January 19, 1850; Mrs. Angerona Powell Miller, who died at Little Falls, N. Y., August 24, 1929; and Col. Robert Woodward Leonard who died at Mount Kisco, N. Y., October 3, 1929.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy are sponsoring the "Jefferson Davis National Highway" running from Washington through the South to San Francisco. An attractive booklet describing the route has been issued.

Kiliaen Van Rensselaer's address on "The Van Rensselaer Manor" given before the New York branch of the Order of Colonial Lords of Manors has been printed in a pamphlet of 100 pages.

"The Problem of Historic Markers and Monuments in Minnesota" is discussed by W. M. Babcock in *Minnesota History*, March 1930.

Mrs. Edith Irvine Hobart, President General National D.A.R., contributes an article on "Christmas at Valley Forge" to the *National Republic* for December 1929. In the March 1930 issue of this journal is an article on "Some Patriots of New York" by Fairfax Braxton.

The *Brooklyn Daily Times*, for February 13, 22 and 26, 1930, printed articles on Brooklyn in the War of Independence from the pen of Richardson Webster, which have awakened much interest and created considerable local discussion.

New Yorkers will be interested in Williamson's *Voyages of the Cabots* printed in a limited edition by the Cambridge University Press. It contains a mass of evidence not hitherto assembled.

The *Republican-Register* of Monrovia, N. Y., February 14, 1930, contains an article regarding the birthplace of Millard Fillmore based on a letter of Mark D. French of Antwerp, N. Y., now past 92, who remembers the house in Summerville town.

The Rhode Island ancestry of Abraham Lincoln was printed in the 25th annual program of Grand Army Flag Day, 1926, by the Rhode Island Commissioner of Education.

The Wiltwyck Chapter D.A.R. of Kingston, N. Y., has included the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in its studies for the year.

Roy E. Fairman presents an informing paper on Sir William Johnson in the *Syracuse Herald*, December 31, 1929.

The *Post-Standard* of Syracuse, N. Y., reprints in pamphlet form the editorials on the late Regent William Pimm Baker who for so many years ably edited that newspaper.

The *Troy Times* has proposed that a bust of Amos Eaton, first head of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, be placed in the Hall of Fame at New York University alongside that of Emma Willard, recently unveiled there.

The *News Sheet* of the Mohawk Valley Towns Association contains many items of historic value and is doing much to arouse pride in local history.

Prof. F. Lee Bennis, a New Yorker and a graduate of Syracuse University has issued through F. S. Crofts & Co., of New York City a history of *Europe Since 1914* which has been widely commended.

Dr. Paul M. Paine, director of the Syracuse Public Library, has printed a series of four-page leaflets on the history of Syracuse and Onondaga county at the request of school teachers and principals.

Manna-hatin is the title of a book of 269 pages issued by the Manhattan Company of which Mayor Walker has written an appreciation.

Putnams of New York City has printed *Here's to Broadway* by Edward T. Perine.

D. Appleton & Co. announce the publication of *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850*, by Frank Luther Mott.

The *Knickerbocker Press* of Albany, N. Y., January 12, 1930, contained a paper written by John Wauhope on "Van Buren's Path from Kinderhook to the White House."

The St. Johnsville (N. Y.), *Enterprise and News* has continued its excellent work in arousing interest in local and family history. Articles on the Bellinger, Dillenbeck, Burbeck, Flint, Flanders, Helmer, Dunckle, Walrath and other families have appeared in the issues from January to April, 1930. A brief history of the Lutheran Church at St. Johnsville appears in the issues of February 19th and later.

"Songs of the Western Gateway" is the title of a book of poems by W. W. Christman of Delanson, N. Y., printed by the Lewis Copeland Co. of New York City.

The Fort Plain, N. Y., *Standard* for January 16, 1930, prints a summary of Bliss Kibbe's paper on the history of the town of Stratford, N. Y., and also reports on the possibility of the canonization of Father Jogues so closely related to Auriesville, N. Y.

The American Highway Education Bureau of Washington, D.C., is preparing a travel booklet on "New York Roads in History."

The *Up-Stater*, for January 1930, contains an informing paper on "Early French Refugees in Western New York" from the gifted pen of Harry F. Landon, City Historian, and city editor of the Watertown *Daily Times*.

Robert Marshall of Johns Hopkins University has recently printed a paper on "The Problem of the Wilderness" which appeared in the *Scientific Monthly*, February 1930.

Morton Pennypacker of Kew Gardens, has prepared an article on "Capt. John Hulbert and His Flag of 1775" which we hope to include in the QUARTERLY JOURNAL this year.

Major Clarence Earle Lovejoy, of Columbia University, one of our newer members, has just published *The Lovejoy Genealogy, 1460-1930*, which includes 10,000 descendants and an index of 80 pages.

Mr. L. M. Muzzey of Chatham, N. Y., has written an article on Major Wm. C. Wilson, who lived at Waterford, N. Y., and escaped from the Confederate Prison at Charlotte, N. C., February 16, 1865.

"The War of 1812 in the North Country" is the title of a pamphlet of 12 pages by Local Historian Harry F. Landon of the *Daily Times*, Watertown, N. Y.

Dr. Charles A. Ingraham of Cambridge, N. Y., has printed a sketch of Erasmus Dow Palmer in the January 1930 *Americana*. Palmer was an American sculptor who died in Albany, N. Y., and whose son is Walter L. Palmer, a distinguished landscape painter.

"The Religious Side of Joseph Brant" by Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., has been reprinted from the *Journal of Religion*, July 1929, as a separate.

In the translation of Bernard Fay's *Franklin, the Apostle of Modern Times*, Gen. John Sullivan after the Battle of Long Island in 1776 is accused of having sold his services to the British commander-in-chief Howe (p. 400). The charge is not only unfair but untrue, and the publishers should see to it that the statement is corrected in the next edition.

The *Knickerbocker Press* of Albany for April 13, 1930, printed an excellent review of Pound and Day, *Johnson of the Mohawks*, by Ray A. Mowers.

Wm. H. Arnold in the *Masonic Outlook*, for October and November 1929, printed articles on "The Chemung Ambuscade" and "Union Lodge 95, Elmira, N. Y."

The *Memorials of Peter A. Jay* have been edited by his great-grandson, John Jay, and privately printed. Peter A. Jay was the eldest son of John Jay and born in 1776. He was a lawyer and jurist of prominence, and took an active part in the affairs of New York State.

The *Knickerbocker Press* for March 23, 1930, presented a paper by Major Alex. Well on the British spy, Bettys, who was hanged in Albany, N. Y.

Mr. Percy M. Van Epps has completed an informing paper on "The Indian Occupation of Glenville, N. Y." The friends of Mr. Van Epps are urging the supervisors of Schenectady county to appoint him County Historian. He is well-qualified for the position.

Colonel Constantine Marrash Perkins of Plattsburgh, N. Y., has recently published a paper in the *Proceedings* of the Naval Institute, Annapolis, Md., on "Benedict Arnold's Retreat from Valcour Island" with accompanying photographs. Colonel Perkins is now writing an article on "Macdonough's Victory at Plattsburg" which will also appear in the *Proceedings*.

"Responsibility for the Failure of the Burgoyne Campaign" is the title of a paper by Jane Clark in the *American Historical Review* for April 1930. Fenimore Cooper's "Defense of Slave-Ownning America" is discussed by Robert E. Spiller in the same issue.

Mr. L. D. Stafford of Seneca Falls, N. Y., has presented to the Seneca Falls Historical Society the "Journal since my Captivity, 17 March, 1775, by Captain Thomas Cornwall of Colonel Fanning's Regiment."

Through the public spirited generosity of Regent Clements, the University of Michigan has acquired about 20,000 letters, documents and maps left by General Thomas Gage. This donation was followed by the acquisition of the private papers of Sir Henry Clinton, of Lord George Germain, of Earl Shelburne and of General Nathanael Greene.

Now comes the good news that Dr. Rosenbach has purchased the Headquarters Papers of General Sir Guy Carleton who in 1781 succeeded Sir Henry Clinton as commander-in-chief and served in that capacity until peace was concluded in 1783. These historical sources are among the most valuable dealing with the Revolution. They have been removed to New York City and it is hoped that they will remain in the State of New York.

Dr. James I. Wyer, director of the State Library, sends us the following note on a recently discovered volume of records of Stillwater:

In 1878, Nathaniel B. Sylvester, an author well known for his books about the lower Adirondack region and his local histories of that part of New York State, wrote a history of Saratoga county in which occurred a chapter about the town of Stillwater. In this chapter he said that it was impossible to write an official history of Stillwater because the original book of town records from 1788 to 1842 was missing and seemed to have disappeared entirely. Accordingly, his list of town officers contained many blanks, and many matters, such as the election of officers, provision for the poor, regulation of animals running at large, appropriations for schools, roads, bridges, etc., could not be completely recorded.

In 1930, after fifty-two years, this missing volume of Stillwater records has been acquired by the New York State Library. It proves to be a book about 16 x 10 inches. The cover shows signs of having been exposed to dampness. The contents, however, are intact, and present a complete record, from 1789 to 1842, except for the years 1792-93. From this book can be filled in most of the gaps in Sylvester's history. The historian records that the place of the town meeting was in early days often a cause of much rivalry and this interesting item has generally been entered in the minutes. It seems to have been awarded to the highest bidder, for in 1821 this appears: "Resolved, that the next town meeting be held at the house of Cornelius Rowley in Stillwater, who promises to pay \$15.25 for the same."

This little book is of undoubted historical importance, and while it deals with matters as small as the removal of Canada thistles, it also records the passage of school legislation, the fixing and voting of taxes, and all the usual business of a town at that time. A good index to the leading citizens of the town is doubtless found in the list of the earmarks of cattle and their respective owners.

The book is on file in the Manuscripts and History Section of the State Library, where it may be consulted at any time.

MUSEUMS, MONUMENTS AND REMAINS

The *New York State Museum Bulletin*, No. 284, prints articles on "Relation of the Museum to Schools and Colleges," "Historical Collections and Exhibits," "An Outdoor Exhibit of the Gilboa Fossil Trees" and "A Policy for State Historic and Scientific Reservations." Last year over 200,000 persons visited the State Museum.

The Rochester Municipal Museum through its director, Arthur C. Parker, has obtained an elm bark canoe which is now on exhibition.

An unusual exhibition of music was arranged by the New York Public Library during the late winter.

On December 19, 1929, Commissioner Frank P. Graves presented to the Regents the proposal to create a Council of Historic and Scientific Reservations to administer the state-owned and state-supported historic sites, monuments, and mansions. A committee of the Regents reported adversely to the transfer of these Reservations from the State Council of Parks to the State Education Department.

Last fall Mrs. Robert Pell discovered at Fort Ticonderoga an eight foot, 18 pounder French cannon in perfect condition. It is dated 1742 and was probably buried in 1777. It will be set up in the very embrasure where it stood during the early part of the Revolution.

The Library of Congress has received recently three boxes of private papers of Roosevelt and the diaries and several thousand letters of Robert Lansing. The papers of Daniel S. Lamont have also been deposited there.

Minnesota is planning to erect along her highways historic markers of important sites and buildings.

Unusual portraits of Aaron Burr and Theodosia Burr are printed in the *Annual Report* of the New York Historical Society for 1929. Also uniforms of the War of 1812. About 300 museum objects, many rare works of art, and numerous valuable manuscripts were received. The donors in 1929 numbered 545.

The Rochester Municipal Museum has been renamed the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences. It is growing rapidly in public favor and performing a valuable educational service under its able director.

Miss Julia F. Wicker reports the attendance at Headquarters House in Ticonderoga as approximately 10,000 during last season.

An abbreviated history of Erie county, containing 13 salient facts, in chronological order, will be inscribed on a bronze tablet in the lobby of the County hall when it is remodeled, according to announcement in the *Buffalo Evening News* of January 29th.

The historical facts which have been compiled by the Buffalo Historical Society and Buffalo Public Library authorities will read as follows:

1—The Kahquath Indian tribe was known in 1620 to be in possession of the area now known as Erie county.

2—The first record of a white man in Erie county, was in 1626, at which time Father Joseph de la Roche Dallion, a Recollect missionary, visited the Indians.

3—The first white man, Cornelius Winne, made a permanent residence in 1789.

4—Sophia Ransom was the first white child born in Erie county.

5—At Newstead, March 1, 1803, was held the first town meeting on the Holland Purchase. Here was selected the first supervisor, Peter Vandeventer.

6—Court was held in Landon's tavern during June, 1808.

7—The Holland company erected a frame courthouse in Onondaga street (now Washington street) in the village of Buffalo, just east of Lafayette square. This was finished in 1809 and destroyed by fire, Dec. 30, 1813.

8—In the spring of 1816, work was begun on a new courthouse in Onondaga street. This building was completed in 1817. This was the only courthouse in Erie county until 1850.

9—Erie county was formed April 2, 1821.

10—The old courthouse became inadequate, so a new one was erected on the northeast corner of what now is Clinton and Ellicott streets, and at this date this building is the newspaper department of the Buffalo Public Library.

11—During the years 1870 and 1871, the county of Erie, in conjunction with the City of Buffalo, took steps to erect a structure sufficient for the use of both county and city.

12—The cornerstone of the structure (the present county hall) was laid June 24, 1872, and formally was taken possession of by the Supreme court officials March 13, 1876.

13—The county of Erie purchased the share of the city of Buffalo. In 1925 was begun the modernizing of this building.

A London concern has asked the exorbitant price of £25, for an early Sir William Johnson letter.

The *Courier-Gazette* of Rockland, Me., July 27, 1929, printed an account of the Knox Memorial meeting held last summer.

Under the direction of Paul Gordon Favour, Trinity Episcopal Church of New Rochelle is arranging to print the church records.

Dr. Frederick S. Parkhurst, Local Historian of Kenmore, N. Y., has organized an Historical Museum in connection with the Public Library. Among the many articles already donated is a library desk owned by President Millard Fillmore.

A wedding present given to Mary Van Schoonhoven at her marriage to Peter Myers, son of the Revolutionary War general, Michael Myers, in 1799, has been sold to the Ford Museum at Dearborn, Mich., by Miss Marion Casey, a school teacher of Amsterdam, N. Y. The present consisted of a three-piece silver tea set and two silver spoons. The sale price was said to be \$1,200.

It is reported from London that an American-born peeress has bought for the British nation the historic meadow and the surrounding country at Runnymede where King John signed the Magna Charta in 1215.

The purchaser is Lady Fairhaven, widow of Urban H. Broughton, engineer and philanthropist, and a daughter of the late Henry Huddleston Rogers of New York. The gift, which was made in the names of Lady Fairhaven and her two sons, is intended not only to preserve the historic ground forever but to be a permanent memorial to her husband.

Much more than the famous Magna Charta Island is included in Lady Fairhaven's gift. It includes 182½ acres of low riverside land along the Thames, all of which has been threatened by building operations in recent years. The steady encroachments of the London suburbs have come so close that the fate of Runnymede had become a subject of anxious speculation.

So that the land will be protected for future generations, Lady Fairhaven intends to present it to the National Trust, which is the guardian of beautiful and historic sites of England.

The Yonkers Museum of Science and Arts is very actively enlarging its educational work in that community.

Bartlett Arkell has presented to the Art Museum which he has established at Canajoharie two historical pictures painted by Edward P. Buyck—one representing Canajoharie at the rendezvous of General James Clinton for the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779 and the other showing the village and valley in 1780. The State of New York should be full of these historical paintings because they carry a message and awaken an interest which the printed page will not do.

On January 9, 1930, the pictures were unveiled in the Canajoharie High School by Mr. Arkell assisted by Peter Nelson and W. Pierrepont White. Mayor Harry V. Bush presided. In addition to the two paintings mentioned, Mr. Arkell also donated one of the great American frigate, the "Constitution."

The little camp used by Dr. Charles P. Steinmetz has been given to Henry Ford and will become a part of his great historical museum at Greenfield, Mich.

The movement to have the State acquire possession of the old Steuben farm north of Utica has found hearty support in all parts of the State and Nation. Governor Roosevelt has committed himself to the project and a bill has passed the Legislature for the creation of the Steuben Park appropriating \$10,000 for the project.

Congress has appropriated \$4,400 to make a survey and report on Saratoga Battlefield Park.

Mr. John Spargo of Bennington, Vermont, who has done so much excellent work to correct local history, reports that the local museum has discovered the skeleton of David Redding, a famous Tory who was hung in June 1778, Ethan Allen acting as prosecutor.

In a message to the Legislature Governor Roosevelt has recommended the appointment of a commission to study and report on the erection of a new building on Capitol Hill to complete the state government quadrangle. Housed in this building would be the State Museum of Natural History, Archeology and New York History. The new structure would be arranged also as a State Archives Building. The office of the State Historian would be transferred to the new building with all the historical agencies of the State under his direction. A large assembly hall would be

included and the edifice be dedicated as a memorial to the Veterans of the World War and to Washington.

The Massachusetts Tercentenary Memorial Stamp has appeared. It is a red two cent stamp with the dates 1630-1930 and a semi-naked Indian in the center.

The State of New York has been invited to erect a tablet on Stafford Hill Memorial at Cheshire, Massachusetts. It will be an opportunity for the Empire State to express its appreciation of the bravery and wisdom of the men and women of Massachusetts in the Revolutionary War.

The sword carried by Peter Stuyvesant, Dutch governor of New York 300 years ago, is to be in the city museum. It was presented by De Lancey Kountze, whose mother received it from Henry Stuyvesant of the sixth generation after Peter. It is 27½ inches long with a wooden grip and leather scabbard.

The Historical Society of Warwick, N. Y., has become interested in the mile stones of that section and is making a list of mile stones "in situ" and if on highways or private property; repairing broken ones and restoring as closely as possible to original situations; watching all new road constructions to see that stones are not destroyed or permanently removed from original positions.

ANNIVERSARIES AND CELEBRATIONS

The Oregon Trail Centennial will be observed in 1930 and literature on the subject is being circulated.

The Massachusetts Bay Tercentenary Committee is continuing its activity through the *News*. Much interest is manifested and big plans are under way.

On December 5, 1929, the 250th anniversary of René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, was observed at South Bend, Indiana, at a dinner at which historic addresses were given on the life and activities of La Salle.

Efforts are being made to commemorate the 350th anniversary of the birth of the versatile Capt. John Smith of Pocahontas renown.

Attention of the schools of New York State was called to the birthdays of Washington and Lincoln by articles from the State Historian in the *Bulletin to the Schools* for February 1, 1930.

Efforts are being made to purchase Totiaction, site of an ancient Seneca village, near Honeoye Falls, as a public park. The *Bulletin* of the Walton League for March 1930 gives a description of the site.

An Ohio Revolutionary Memorial Commission is planning a series of sesquicentennial observances and the erection of historic markers.

Plans are under way to observe the 300th anniversary of the formation in 1630 of the Manor of Rensselaerswyck. The project is being promoted by the Rensselaer County Historical Society.

On April 6, 1930, those places in New York associated with the origin of Mormonism were part of a nation-wide observance of the centennial of the meeting of Joseph Smith and five others to found the Church of Latter Day Saints at Fayette, N. Y.

Congressman Hamilton Fish, Jr., speaking of the convention of Pulaski with New York said:

The settlers of Orange and Sullivan counties in New York owe a special debt of gratitude to General Pulaski as his Legion was stationed at Minisink and protected them from the ferocious forays of the Indians during the winter of 1778.

It is an interesting fact, in view of the tremendous number of American citizens of Polish origin now living in New York state that both the intrepid and dashing cavalry leader, General Pulaski, and that other Polish hero and patriot, General Thaddeus Kosciuszko, rendered signal service in defense of the state of New York during the Revolutionary War.

General Kosciuszko was the chief engineer in laying out and constructing the fortifications at West Point which became the most important defensive position of the American army on the Hudson River.

The Olean Chapter, D. A. R., has erected a bronze tablet to the memory of Major Robert Hoops, pioneer settler in 1804 at Olean. The marker was presented by Miss Maud D. Brooks and accepted by Mayor George H. Pierce.

On February 22, 1930, in the churchyard of Old St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City, the Society of the War of 1812 placed a marker on the tomb of Capt. Joseph Lametti. Our honored member Henry Harmon Noble, presided.

The New York Commission on the Washington Bicentennial has been continued for another year with an appropriation of \$5,000 for expenses.

Plans for the observance of the 150th anniversary of the capture of Major André at Tarrytown, N. Y., are well organized. There will be an historical pageant and addresses. The State has been asked to appropriate \$25,000. Local Historian Edgar Mayhew Bacon is promoting the observance which should receive state-wide recognition.

A Commission of seven has been appointed to consider a suitable memorial for the World War Veterans and \$15,000 appropriated for the investigation.

William H. Richardson of Jersey City, N. J., is gathering material for the Tercentenary of the founding of the Plantation of Pavonia. His researches have carried him to many centers of primary sources.

LOCAL HISTORIANS

Hugh P. Graham, who for so many years has interested himself in the local history of Cohoes, N. Y., and vicinity has been re-appointed to the office of Local Historian by Mayor James J. Dooley.

Local Historian Annie M. Toohey of Watervliet, N. Y., has sent to the State Historian's office clippings on local and general history.

Mrs. J. E. Hurlburt, Local Historian of Windsor, has forwarded a report of the excavations made in that region by the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences. Many Indian articles have been found.

Mrs. F. W. Pugsley, Local Historian of Pittsford, N. Y., is interested in marking the Old Indian Trail through that region. Her husband has prepared a map showing the route.

Mrs. B. L. Smith, Local Historian of Cincinnatus, N. Y., has submitted some excellent articles on local and family history.

Miss Emma L. Davis, Local Historian of Sag Harbor, N. Y., is awakening local interest in the preservation of the family and regional cemeteries and also the erection of historic markers.

Frank J. Conklin of Binghamton, N. Y., forwards clippings about the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign Sesquicentennial observance at Binghamton, N. Y. Mr. Conklin is one of our active members and an indefatigable worker in local history.

Mrs. Albertus B. Johnson, Local Historian of Caledonia, N. Y., has sent to the office of the State Historian materials of much value on regional history. The sketch of Daniel Shays is of special significance.

COMMUNICATIONS

LOCAL HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS

City History Club of New York

January 10, 1930

To the Editor:

The trustees of the City History Club believe that the study of local history in the public schools of New York State should be encouraged. There is hardly any corner of our state that is not rich in historic lore, as your own researches show.

We are informed that the educational authorities in *Texas and Oregon* are prescribing much local history in their courses of study, and the enthusiasm of Texans and Oregonians for their commonwealth is well known.

Can we not arouse a greater interest in New York among our boys and girls? Is there any better way to do it than by giving greater attention to local history in our courses of study, both in the elementary and high schools?

Sincerely yours

LOUISE D. VAN ANDA

(Mrs. Carr Van Anda)

Secretary to the Board of Trustees

STEUBEN PARK

Hillside Cottage, Wilmington, Vt.

March 10, 1930

To the Editor:

About a month ago I read in the Boonville *Herald* the proposal of Governor Roosevelt in regard to Baron Steuben.

I am a native of the town named after him and in my boyhood days heard the old neighbors talk about the old Baron a great deal.

Few years ago I had occasion to investigate some records in the county clerk's office in Utica regarding deeds pertaining to the estate of Baron Steuben.

The Baptist Church in Remsen, the adjoining town to Steuben, has the use of the land where the Steuben monument is located, some sixty acres. I question whether that Church has any right to the property and to accept any money from the State in case a park is established as you propose.

Baron Steuben willed sixty acres, including the wood-lot on which the monument is located, to the oldest church in the town of Steuben, granting the use of it for taking care of the property, keeping up the fences, etc. The oldest church in Steuben at that time was a Baptist church, located about a mile west of Remsen village. There is only a small grave-yard to be seen now. As the church grew weaker the pastor of the Baptist church in Remsen supplied the pulpit and when the church was closed the Baptist church in Remsen continued to have the use of the Steuben property. The next oldest church was a Congregational Church. I heard number of the old residents say that this Congregational Church should have had the use of the said property, but no action was ever taken. That church is now closed. There are two churches left in the town of Steuben, Presbyterian and Methodist; I do not know which is the older of the two.

It is my opinion that when the oldest church closed the next oldest should have had the property as being more in accordance with the Baron's will. I would suggest that the matter be thoroughly investigated before the State pays any money to any church. If Baron Steuben could be consulted, I am sure that the proposal to create a Steuben Park in his honor would meet his approval. He certainly served our country like a patriot.

By the way, this year is the 200th anniversary of his birth. Baron Steuben was born in Magdeburg, Prussia, 1730. I hope that the event will be celebrated with appropriate exercises at the monument and other places.

If I can be of any service in any way connected with old Baron Steuben, I shall be very happy to do anything. Records of deeds etc., also will, are in Utica, Herkimer and Albany.

Very sincerely yours

HENRY HUGHES

VON STEUBEN OR DE STEUBEN?

It is well known that General Steuben sometimes signed his name "de Steuben" and that he was often so addressed or referred to by his contemporaries. His oath of allegiance to the United States, given at Valley Forge, May 12, 1778, is signed "de Steuben" and has the name "De Steuben" in the body of the document (See facsimile in Albert Bernhardt Faust, *Inspector General Frederick William von Steuben*, 1927, p. 15). Steuben's will, dated New York, February 12, 1794, as printed in Rudolph Cronau, *The Army of the American Revolution and its Organizer*, 1923, p. 129-30, begins: "I, Frederick William de Steuben of the City and State of New York," but is signed simply "Steuben." The Journals of the Continental Congress, under date of January 13, 1778, state that "A letter . . . of the 6th of December, from Baron de Steuben, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, with sundry letters, recommending him to Congress . . . were read;" and Washington's letter, written to him from Annapolis, December 23, 1783, is addressed: "The Honble Major Genl. Baron de Steuben." Furthermore, the famous "Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States," of which the New York State Library has a number of editions, have, all but the first edition printed in 1779, on the title page the name "Baron de Steuben."

On the other hand, practically all the biographies of General Steuben give his name as "von Steuben" and the relief on the Steuben monument at Valley Forge, reproduced in Cronau's book, p. 20, as well as the monument erected at Washington in 1910, bear inscriptions in which the name is spelled "von Steuben." The Steuben Statue Commission which had charge of the erection of the statue at Washington duly considered the form of the name, as shown by a footnote on p. 85 of the *Proceedings upon the unveiling of the statue of Baron von Steuben* (62d Congress, 3d Session, 1912-1913, House Documents Vol. 120), as follows:

"Steuben was the son of Major Wilhelm Augustin von Steuben, a Prussian army officer and a knight of the Prussian ordre pour le merite. Steuben, however, used the name "de Steuben" on various occasions instead of his family name "von Steuben." In signing his name, though, he generally wrote simply "Steuben." The use of "de" instead of "von" by Steuben was due, perhaps, to his close association with French officers both in France and America and to his frequent use of their language, many of his letters and documents being written in French. The Steuben Statue Commission, after a careful investigation of the matter, decided upon "von Steuben" as the correct name of the Baron. The Society of the Cincinnati, however, records Steuben's name as "de Steuben," which appears in many of its documents, some of them having been prepared by Steuben himself."

It is interesting in this connection to note that on the statue at Washington the name appears as "Frederick William Augustus Henry Ferdinand Baron von Steuben," but that Professor Faust in his above-mentioned monograph, page 9, states that: "The recent discovery of his baptism proves that his birthday was September 17th, not November 15th, and that the names given him were Friedrich Wilhelm Rudolph* Gerhard Augustin von Steuben, not Friedrich Wilhelm Augustus Heinrich Ferdinand."

In deciding the question as to how the name of General Steuben should appear on any monument to be erected by the State, this recent discovery of his baptismal record should be taken into consideration. I notice that in the bills introduced on February 3rd and 4th in the Senate and the Assembly for the acquisition and preservation by the State of the "Steuben farm," the name of the general is given as "General von Steuben."

According to Friedrich Kapp's *Life of Frederick William von Steuben*, New York, 1859, p. 604, the present monument on Steuben's grave bears the inscription: "Major General Frederick William Augustus Baron de Steuben."

A. J. F. VAN LAER

REVOLUTIONARY FLAG AT OWEGO

The note on page 120 of our last number about the old flag presented to the Tioga County Historical Society has brought out the following statement from the donor, communicated by Mrs. Gershom W. Clark, of Owego:

March 17, 1930

I have no recollection of the flag except in its present condition, and do not know what became of the rest of it and would not think it possible to obtain the missing part.

I think it has always been in the possession of my branch of the family. It is said to have been a gift from George Washington to my great grandfather Judge Emanuel Coryell who was forage master in Revolutionary Army and supplied the whole Federal Army with five days rations when they were crossing the Delaware at Lambertsville (the ferry was then known as Coryell's Ferry).

John Coryell (Emanuel Coryell's father) owned the Ferry and supplied the boats when the Army made the crossing. I think it was at this time that the flag was presented to Judge Emanuel Coryell.

Very truly yours,

MARY CORYELL CLARK
(Mrs. WILLIAM H. CLARK)

*A letter from Francis D. Culver states that *Rudolph* should be *Ludolph*.—ED.

LOCAL AND FAMILY CEMETERIES

The following letter from Mrs. Ardron Armsby, of Hoosick, N. Y., is typical of a number that have been received within the past year:

Jan. 14, 1930

Dr. A. C. Flick
State Historian
Albany, N. Y.

Dear Sir:—

I am writing to you because I do not know to whom to write trusting that if you are not the one you will give this to some one who can give me information or advise me to whom I may write.

The Hoosac-Waloomsac D. A. R. Chapter are doing research work in the old cemeteries, to obtain data for the records, also with a view of fixing up old cemeteries and marking revolutionary soldiers graves.

I am chairman of this Committee in the towns of Berlin and Cherryplain, N. Y., and would like to know just what we can do and what rights we have.

We were told that each town was given fifty dollars per year to keep these old cemeteries but upon investigation could find no foundation for this statement. Our town supervisors stand back of us so far as the law is back of them, also many of the townspeople ready to help if we can obtain some money and know just what to do.

We find many of these small cemeteries in very bad condition, some grown up with trees and brambles, others with stones down and overgrown in such a way that the only way we know of them is by some old citizen finding them for us; other stones have been taken away and used for walks and door stoops, others have entirely disappeared.

I see no use in trying to restore such as these as it would be only a comparatively short time before they would be in a like condition. Many of the families are extinct and thus no interest except as the land owners would be glad to have them removed.

It has been suggested that a tract of land be obtained either by purchase or donation in some well kept cemetery in the town and these graves moved there and properly marked and taken care of for future reference and history.

Have we the right to do this or can we obtain it? It seems to me the only practical way.

As to the soldiers graves, some are marked to tell us they are Revolutionary soldiers and many are not. How would we find out? And would there be a charge to it? Of course we mark Revolutionary soldiers graves but it seems no more than fair as long as we are at it we should mark all soldiers graves if we can find out or have

some list of the soldiers. I know there are 1812 soldiers and Civil War soldiers in these cemeteries.

I have tried to make myself clear in regard to the information I wish for. I think perhaps you know more about the work than I.

Can we get money to work with, information in regard to the names of soldiers without expense and what rights have we in regard to fixing up old cemeteries and moving those that are impossible to fix permanently.

I shall be very grateful for any information you can give me on this subject in general.

Sincerely

PHELE S. ARMSBY

Local Historian Blanche B. Hillman, of Olean, has asked for the compilation and publication in a single pamphlet of all the state laws dealing with the care of cemeteries.

The State Historian's office is now preparing such a brochure for general use. This Association has also appointed a committee to consider and work for such changes as should be incorporated in the law on the subject. That the interest is not limited to New York is evident from an article in the *Indiana History Bulletin*, for March 1930, which we here reprint:

The Care of Old Cemeteries

One of the distinctive features, perhaps even criteria, of different civilizations, is the way in which the remains and the memory of the dead are cared for. Indiana, in this matter, is open to a serious indictment. The earliest settlers, those who laid the foundation of the commonwealth, for the most part buried their dead in small private burial plots on their own land. A few of these burial plots have been cared for through the years, but most of them sooner or later have become neglected. The stones have been removed and every trace, even of their location, has been lost.

As communities were formed, church cemeteries or public cemeteries were laid off, most of them comparatively small. These, too, have been neglected. Church buildings have been abandoned or moved and the adjoining cemeteries have fallen into disuse or disrepair. Small public cemeteries have given place to larger ones, near the cities and towns, and most of the early ones have fallen into decay.

In many cases there seems to be no responsible organization to blame for this state of affairs. In other cases the township trustees, not through any personal negligence but reflecting merely the general indifference of the community, have paid no attention

to the heritage left on their hands. In many cases it would seem that the county commissioners might well have taken action to prevent what can only be looked upon as a reproach to civilized communities. They would probably have done so had public sentiment been aroused. As it is, the whole state of Indiana is dotted with early, neglected cemeteries, overgrown with weeds, their fences broken down, and their tombstones tottering in disarray.

One of two things ought to be done. Either the old burial places should be definitely abandoned and all reminders of the dead removed, or else enough respect should be paid to the memory of those who have gone, to keep their resting place, if not sacred, at least respectable.

There are many signs of an awakening of public conscience. The funeral directors of the state, at their last annual meeting in Indianapolis during February, started an investigation and took the first steps toward bettering the present shameful state of affairs. Some of the county historical societies have become active in the matter. In one county, at least, Washington, the historical society has undertaken the copying and preservation of all the inscriptions now legible in the abandoned cemeteries of the county. This is an example which might well be followed in many other counties as the first step toward some systematic and decent provision for an adequate policy to be followed by the public authorities.

HARLEM HEIGHTS

Columbia University Library
New York City, April 24, 1930

To the Editor:

I have some unbound copies of the *Battle of Harlem Heights*, by Henry P. Johnston, published in 1897, 234 pages, that would be available for libraries who would care for one. It seems to me that a note inserted in your *JOURNAL* would reach the eyes of librarians and curators of historical collections. I should recommend an early application, as the stock is not large.

Yours faithfully

ROGER HOWSON
Librarian

PUBLICATIONS OF THE NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

- PROCEEDINGS, volume 1. Constitution and By-laws; with Proceedings of the second annual meeting at Lake George, N. Y., July 31, 1900. Miscellaneous papers, mostly on the Battle of Lake George. 1901. 79 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 2. Third annual meeting at Lake George, N. Y., July 30, 1901. Miscellaneous papers, mostly on Ticonderoga. 1902. 74 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 3. Fourth annual meeting at Lake George, N. Y., July 29, 1902. Miscellaneous papers, mostly on Burgoyne's Campaign, 1903. 88 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 4. Fifth annual meeting at Lake George, N. Y., August 25, 1903. Miscellaneous papers. 1904. 106 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 5. Sixth annual meeting at Lake George, N. Y., August 16, 1904. Miscellaneous papers, largely on the Battle of Bennington. 1905. 199 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 6. Seventh annual meeting at Lake George, N. Y., August 22, 1905. Miscellaneous papers, mostly on Sullivan's Expedition; with E. M. Ruttenber's *Indian Geographical Names*. 1906. 241 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 7. Eighth annual meeting at Lake George, N. Y., Aug. 21-22, 1906. Miscellaneous papers, mostly on the Revolution. 1907. 147 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 8. Ninth annual meeting at Buffalo, N. Y., September 17, 1907. Miscellaneous papers, mostly on the Niagara frontier; and tenth annual meeting at Albany, N. Y., October 12-14, 1908. Miscellaneous papers, mostly on Albany. 1909. 316 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 9. Eleventh annual meeting at Mount Vernon, N. Y., October 19-20, 1909. Miscellaneous papers, largely on Westchester county. 1910. 445 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 10. Twelfth annual meeting on Lake Champlain, October 4-7 1910. Miscellaneous papers, mostly on Lake Champlain. 1911. 552 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 11. Thirteenth annual meeting at Kingston, N. Y., September 12-14, 1911. Miscellaneous papers, mostly on Ulster county. 381 pages; with *Dutch Records of Kingston*, 171+xvii pages. 1912.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 12. Fourteenth annual meeting at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., Bennington Vt., and Schuylerville, N. Y., September 17-20, 1912. Miscellaneous papers, mostly on the Battle of Saratoga. 1913. 423 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 13. Fifteenth annual meeting at Oswego, N. Y., September 29-October 2, 1913. Miscellaneous papers, mostly on Lake Ontario. 1914. 480 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 14. Sixteenth annual meeting at Utica, N. Y., October 5-8, 1914. Miscellaneous papers, mostly on the Mohawk valley. 1915. 504 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 15. Seventeenth annual meeting at West Point, N. Y., October 5-7, 1915. Miscellaneous papers, mostly on West Point. 1916. 360 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 16. Eighteenth annual meeting at Cooperstown, N. Y., October 3-5, 1916. Miscellaneous papers. 1917. 356 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 17. Nineteenth annual meeting at New York City, October 2-4, 1917. Papers largely on New York City. 1919. 480 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 18. Twentieth annual meeting at Rochester, N. Y., October 8-10, 1919. Biographies and Rochester sketches. 1920. 314 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 19. Twenty-first annual meeting at Bear Mountain, N. Y., October 6-8, 1920. Miscellaneous papers, mostly on the lower Hudson valley. 1921. 281 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 20. Twenty-second annual meeting at Lake George, Oct. 3-5, 1921. Miscellaneous papers. 1922. 280+xiv pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 21. Twenty-third annual meeting at Lake Mohonk, Sept. 26-28, 1922. Miscellaneous papers, Constitution and By-Laws, and list of members corrected to Aug. 1, 1924. 264+Ivi pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 22. Twenty-fourth annual meeting at Lake Placid Club, Oct. 2-4, 1923. Miscellaneous papers. 1925. 370 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 23. Twenty-fifth annual meeting at Buffalo, Oct. 1-3, 1924. Miscellaneous papers mostly on Niagara frontier; laying of corner stone of Ticonderoga Headquarters, July 8, 1925; constitution, by-laws, list of members to Nov. 1, 1926. Index to volumes 1-23. 1925. xvi+466 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 24. Twenty-sixth annual meeting at Syracuse, Oct. 1-3, 1925. Miscellaneous papers mostly on Central New York. 1926. xi+373 pp.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 25. Twenty-seventh annual meeting at New York City, Sept. 20-Oct. 2, 1926. Miscellaneous papers. 1927. xii+464.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 26. Twenty-eighth annual meeting at Glens Falls, N. Y., Oct. 5, 1927. Miscellaneous papers. 1928. viii+483.
- PROCEEDINGS, volume 27. Twenty-ninth annual meeting at Watertown, N. Y., Sept. 27, 1928. Miscellaneous papers. 1929. viii+388.

THE NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
was incorporated in 1899 with these objects:

1. To promote and encourage historical research.
2. To disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of lectures and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects.
3. To gather books, manuscripts, pictures and relics relating to the history of the State of New York, and to establish a museum therein for their preservation.
4. To suitably mark places of historic interest.
5. To acquire by purchase, gift, devise, or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places.

The first and second of these purposes are achieved principally through the papers read at the annual meetings and their publication in the *QUARTERLY JOURNAL*, the four numbers of which constitute the annual volume of proceedings. The *JOURNAL* also reviews books and articles relating to New York, prints original articles and news of the historical activities in the State.

A library of considerable value has been gathered and it is growing rapidly through exchanges with similar organizations and through gifts.

The Association is custodian for the State of the Bennington Battlefield, the Lake George Battleground Park and the Crown Point Reservation.

All persons interested in American history are eligible for membership and we invite all such to fill out the form below and mail it to the Secretary. Annual dues \$3; life membership \$50; endowment membership, \$100. Dues are credited from the first of January nearest date of application. There is no other expense. All publications are sent prepaid to each member.

.....19

FREDERICK B. RICHARDS, *Secretary*,
Glens Falls, N. Y.

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